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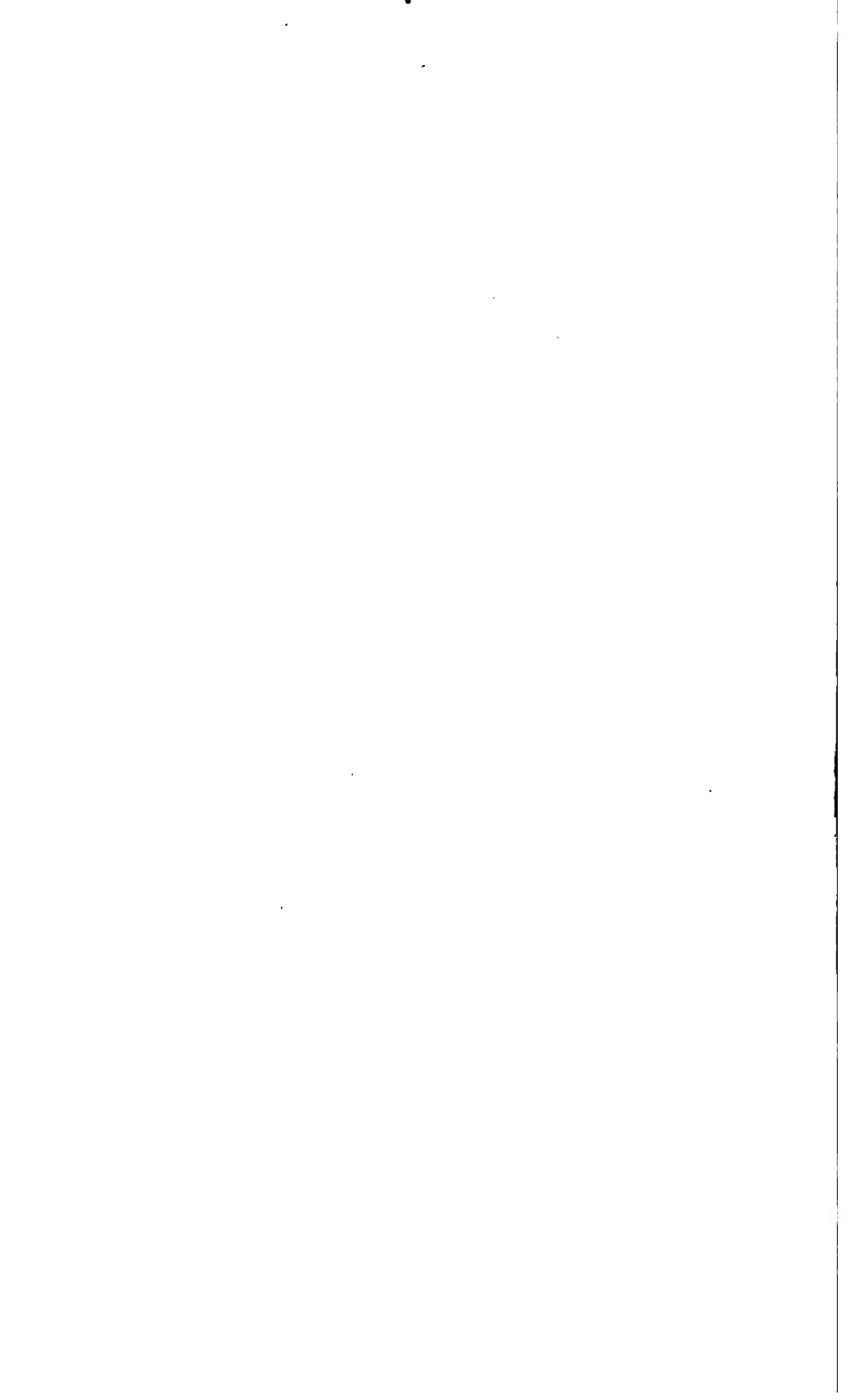
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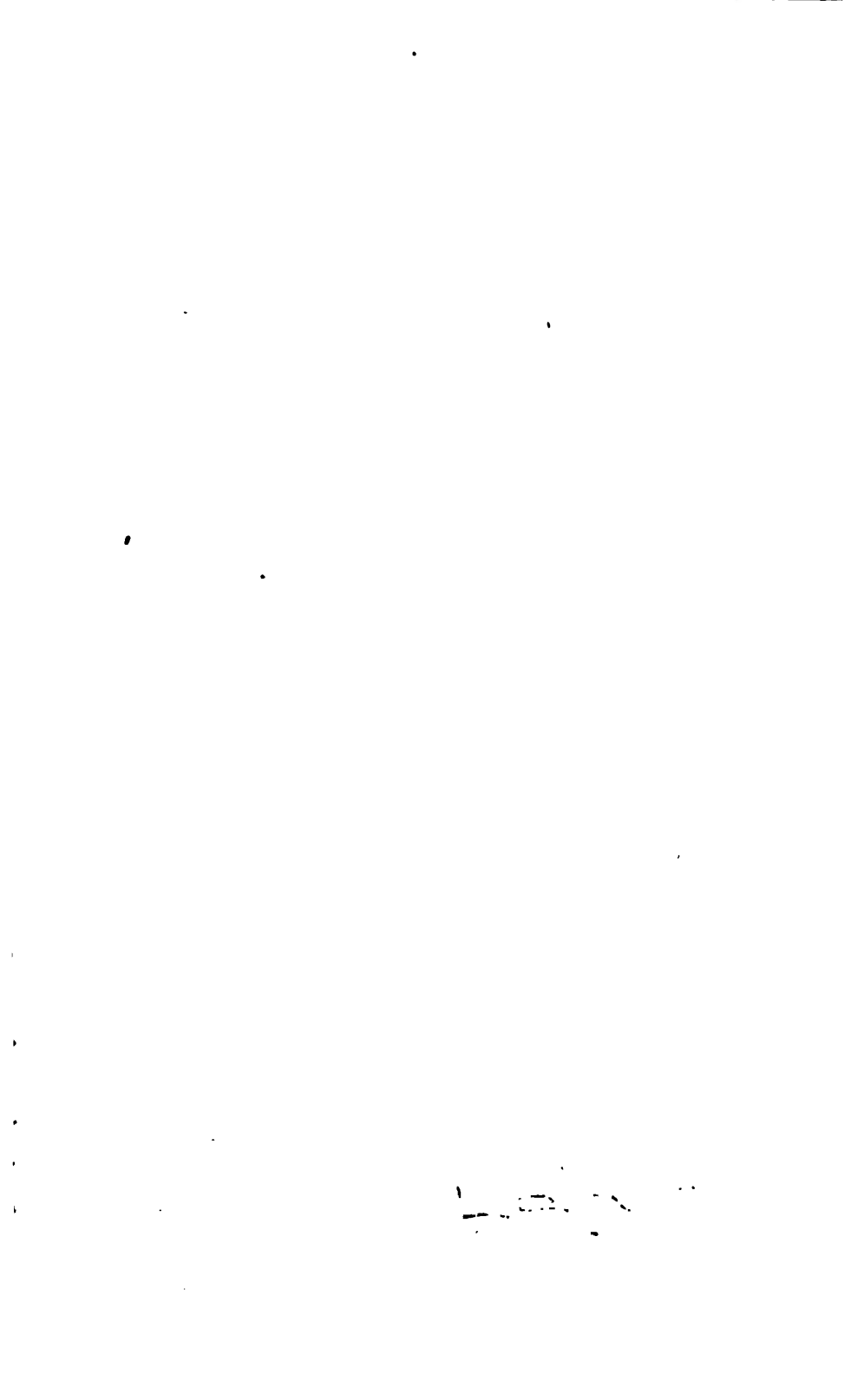


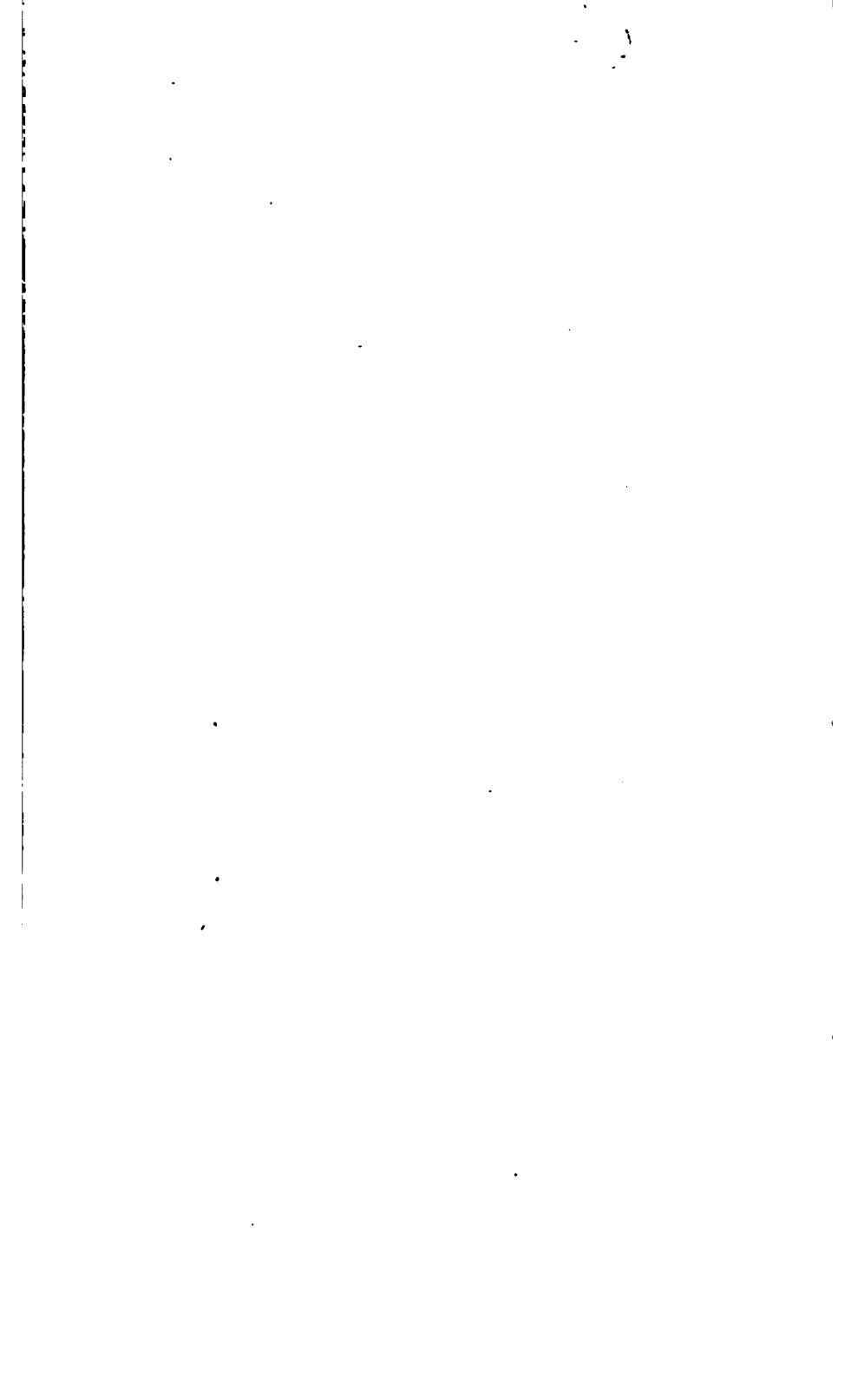
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THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND
FROM THE
INVASION OF HENRY II.
WITH A
PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE
ON THE
ANCIENT STATE OF THAT KINGDOM.

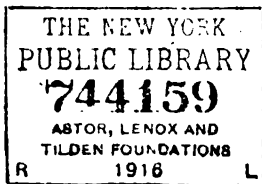
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HISTORY

OF
IRELAND.

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IT were natural to expect, that Ireland, situated as it now appears, relieved from the calamities of intestine war, with a more general, and apparently more sincere submission to the crown of England than former ages had experienced, should proceed in quiet, through the course of civility and refinement, without affording any incidents considerable enough to be recorded. But that happy period had not yet arrived, when the turbulence and commotion, which supply materials for the historian, should be exchanged for a peaceable and prosperous obscurity. From the present period, we shall find the affairs of this country more interesting and important, more nearly connected with those of England, and therefore the worthier and more necessary to be distinctly considered.

THE instructions transmitted by Charles to his lord deputy, which declared the rights, and promised to redress the grievances of his Irish subjects, were for the present, received with satisfaction. The king stood engaged, that his graces should be confirmed

firmed by a law of parliament ; and the insincerity of his professions was not yet completely discovered. The people therefore chearfully submitted to the ^{Carte.} contribution, by which these graces had been purchased. ^{Orm.} Every party concurred in this extraordinary supply ; but the whole merit was assumed by the recusants, who indeed formed the majority of the nation. They professed the most zealous loyalty ; but secretly exulted in the persuasion, that the army, and of consequence the authority of the crown in Ireland, could not be maintained without their assistance.

LORD Faulkland seems to have been more distinguished by his rectitude than abilities. In a government which required vigour and austerity, he was indolent and gentle ; courting, rather than terrifying the factious. He was harassed by the intrigues and clamours of the king's ministers, whom he could not always gratify to the full extent of their desires ; his actions were severely interpreted and maligned at the court of England ; his administration of consequence was cautious and embarrassed. Such a governor was little qualified to awe the numerous and powerful body of recusants, relying on their merits, and stimulated by their ecclesiastics to the most imprudent excesses. Their religious worship was once more celebrated with public solemnity, and with the full parade of their ostentatious ritual. Churches were seized for their service ; their ecclesiastical jurisdiction was avowedly and severely executed ; new friaries and nunneries were erected ; and even in the city of Dublin, under the immediate notice of the state, an academical body was formed, and governed by an ecclesiastic of some note, for the education of popish youth. The clergy, by whose influence these violent proceedings were directed, were by their numbers, and by their principles, justly alarming to government. They swarmed into the kingdom from foreign seminaries ; where they had imbibed the most
invete-

inveterate prejudices against England, and the most abject and pestilential opinions of the papal authority. Seculars and regulars alike had bound themselves by solemn oath, to defend the papacy against the whole world; to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges; to execute its mandates, and to persecute heretics. Their whole body acted in dangerous concert, under the direction of the pope, and subject to the orders of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, lately erected at Rome; and many of them, by their education in the seminaries of Spain, were peculiarly devoted to the interests of that monarchy; habituated to regard the insurrections of the old Irish in the reign of Elizabeth as the most generous exertions of patriotism, and taught to detest that power which had quenched this spirit, and established a dominion on the ruins of the ancient dignity and pre-eminence of their countrymen.

The protestant party were no less zealous in their detestation of popish idolatry. The inferiors of their clergy were poor, and sometimes so scandalously profligate, as to occasion a sarcastical observation of an Irishman to be recorded, that *the king's priests were as bad as those of the pope*. But there were not wanting many to whom the purity of the faith was an object of especial moment; and who, with the support of some grave and respectable prelates, as well as some of the officers of state, of English birth, and puritanic education, remonstrated warmly to Faulkland, on the turbulence of the recusants, and the dangerous tendency of their present practices. The temper of this deputy disposed him, and his instructions from England directed him to moderation and indulgence in the affair of religious controversy. But the repeated instances of his council could not be neglected. He issued a proclamation importing, that "the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friars, and

“ and others, deriving their pretended authority
 “ from the see of Rome, in contempt of his ma-
 “ jesty’s royal power and authority, had bred such
 “ an extravagant insolence and presumption in
 “ them, that he was necessitated to charge and com-
 “ mand them in his majesty’s name to forbear the
 “ exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies.”

THE proclamation was published and received without the common respect due to an act of state; nor did the deputy think himself warranted to proceed to any further severity. The popish worship was still maintained; nor was the new college, erected by the recusants in Dublin, suppressed by government: for the chief governor attended minutely to his instructions from London; and these were not unfavorable to that party which possessed the greatest share of power in Ireland. But the least restraint or discouragement was sufficient to awaken the resentment of the recusants. They now began, in the melancholy tone of discontent, to lament the weight and grievance of the public burdens. They inveighed against those agents whom they had lately sent into England, and complained that, without due commission or authority, they had consented to a tax too grievous to be supported. They, who were still harassed by vexatious inquisitions into the titles of their estates, they, who from any motives were flattered with the hopes of being relieved from public burdens, easily united in this clamour, which soon became so violent and alarming, that the government condescended to a sort of compromise, and accepted a quarterly payment of five thousand, instead of ten thousand pounds, until the whole voluntary subsidy should be discharged. The impatience of Charles and his ministers at this murmuring of the Irish subjects, and this manifest reluctance to fulfil their engagements, made them readier to listen to any complaints against the conduct of the chief governor. Lord Faulkland was recalled, and the
 admiral.

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administration entrusted for the present to two lords justices, united by friendship and affinity, and of considerable consequence in Ireland, Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard earl of Cork, lord high-treasurer of this kingdom.

THE first of these chief governors derived his fortune and station from the activity and prudence of Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, in the reign of Elizabeth. The earl, head of the noble family of Boyle, had arrived in Ireland as a private adventurer in the same reign; and, by a fortunate marriage, by industry and judicious conduct, by purchasing from Sir Walter Raleigh his portion of the Desmond forfeitures, and by introducing English colonies into his estates, had risen gradually to the first degree of consequence. He had been knighted, created, baron Boyle, viscount Dungarvan, and earl of Cork, and was now advanced to the government of Ireland; a progress in which he possibly was the speedier and more successful, as the heads of the two leading families in Ireland, Kildare and Ormond, were in the State of minority. The power of the first of these houses he afterwards contrived to connect in some sort with his own interests, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to the young earl of Kildare.

THE earl of Cork was possessed with a spirit suited to his exalted rank; not with a despicable pride of family that reposes fastidiously on its advantages, with a contemptuous disregard of all inferiors; but with a liberal and generous solicitude for the welfare of those he governed. On his own lands he had fixed a numerous, well regulated, and well defended body of English protestants; which soon rewarded him by the natural effects of such generous cares, industry, affluence, and civility. With the same principles, and by the same means, he studied to promote the general welfare of the nation in his public conduct. With particular
assiduity

assiduity he laboured to execute a scheme of transplanting into the remote quarters of the South those turbulent Irish septs of Wicklow, who had for ages harassed the English government, and filling the neighbourhood of the capital with more peaceable and industrious inhabitants. The errors of popery were offensive to his religious principles; and that barbarism, which generally attended it in Ireland, was equally repugnant to his schemes of political improvement. Without consulting the ministry of England, or waiting for any instructions from the king, the lords justices fell at once with great severity on the recusants, and threatened all absenters from the established worship with the penalties of the statute, enacted in the second year of Elizabeth's reign. They were however soon informed, that this severity was not acceptable to the king, nor deemed consistent with his present interests in Ireland: and the recusants, as usual, were immoderate in their triumph.

A fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites, in one of the most frequented parts of Dublin. The archbishop of the diocese, and the chief magistrate of the city whose indignation was roused at this defiance of law and government, led a party of the army to their place of worship, and attempted to disperse the assembly. The friars and their congregation repelled the attack by force, and obliged the assailants to consult their safety by a precipitate flight. The incident was represented in England in the most offensive manner, and seemed to reproach that mistaken lenity which had encouraged the recusants to this outrage. It was deemed neither safe nor politic to connive at such insolence: by an order of the English council, fifteen religious houses were seized to the king's use, and the popish college erected in Dublin was assigned to the university, who for the present converted it into a protestant seminary.

But

But the suppression of popish superstition was an object much less interesting to the English cabinet, than that of providing for the immediate necessities of the king's Irish government. The time now approached when the voluntary subsidy was to determine. There were no hopes of maintaining the authority of the crown in Ireland without a competent military force, and little prospect of any further supply for the continuance of such a force. To relieve himself from the additional embarrassment arising from the weakness, danger, and distractions of the state of Ireland, Charles now determined to commit the government of this kingdom to Thomas, lord viscount Wentworth, a statesman highly favored and esteemed by his master; and although he could not for the present be spared to enter on his office, yet his activity and intrigue were of considerable assistance to the king, in the management of Irish affairs. The great point now to be obtained, was the renewal of the voluntary contribution for some time, until the lord deputy could assume his government, and have leisure to devise some permanent provision for the army. The present lords justices, either from a sense of the public burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal against popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution, from which, they declared, that all the subjects of every denomination were obstinately averse: they advised, that recusants should be strictly presented, and the weekly fines imposed, for their absence from the established worship, as a means of providing for the army. Both the king and Wentworth disapproved a scheme of supply, precarious and insufficient; both however agreed in the expediency of alarming the recusants, so as to conquer their reluctance to a new contribution. Charles now used a new language to his Irish subjects. If the subsidy were not cheerfully and thankfully continued, he threatened, that his graces, those graces which he had promised to confirm by parliament, should

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ford's
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p. 71.

should be *streightened*; that the recusants' fines should be universally and strictly levied, directing that the presentments necessary for this purpose should be made. He was careful at the same time to cast the odium of this measure on the lords justices, by declaring it to be the consequence of their advice. The justices were terrified; they could not venture to enter the king's letter, agreeably to his order, in the council books, lest the inspection of it should produce some dangerous clamor. For this they were severely, and even insolently reprimanded by Wentworth. He affected to deride the difficulties apprehended by the justices and council, in prevailing for a continuance of the contribution; he insinuated that the earl of Cork practised secretly with the protestant party, to embarrass the king in his necessities; his agents were privately employed to prevail on the recusants to offer half a yearly subsidy, as the only means of suspending the execution of the penal statutes; and for this purpose to send a deputation to the king. Although they objected to repeat the error they had formerly committed, and to treat by deputies who might exceed their commission, they yet declared a readiness to contribute voluntarily to the support of the army for some time longer. After some altercation and delay it was at length agreed, that the sum of twenty thousand pounds should be added to the former contribution, to be paid by four equal quarterly assessment. Thus were the immediate necessities of the state supplied; and lord Wentworth was soon after sent to assume the administration; a nobleman from whose vigor and abilities Charles expected the effectual regulation and improvement of his Irish dominions.

Few characters have been more the subject both of censure and panegyric than that of lord Wentworth, better known by his superior title of Strafford. His conduct as chief governor of Ireland forms no inconsiderable part of the history of his life; his enemies and his admirers have therefore carefully

inspected it. His desertion of the popular cause in England had rendered him odious to a party powerful, implacable, subtle, and indefatigable. The extraordinary attention and favor of the king were sufficient to encrease this odium, even if he had not proved so determined a partizan of prerogative. Some of the leaders of the party he had personally offended ; and relying on that protection, which deserted him in his extremity, he seemed to defy, and therefore confirmed their enmity. Their rancor pursued him into Ireland : watched his conduct strictly, and interpreted his actions severely. He assumed his government with a mind and affection fixed on one single object, the immediate interest of his royal master : and happily the service of the crown obliged him to study the improvement of the realm. He had heard of the turbulence and disorders of this country ; and hence inferred the necessity of that severe and rigorous administration which suited his own austerity and arrogance. Ireland he regarded as a conquered kingdom in the strictest sense. He avowed and defended the opinion, under all the terrors of impeachment, when it was charged against him as a traitorous principle ; and from this crude conception he deduced a consequence at once ridiculous and detestable, that the subjects of this country, without distinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens ; and for whatever they were permitted to enjoy, depended solely on the royal grace. Such men he was naturally disposed to treat with contempt ; and even the most distinguished of the Irish subjects were of little consequence in the eye of an imperious nobleman, used to the magnificence of the English court, distinguished even in the crowd of exalted personages, and known to enjoy an extraordinary portion of the royal favor.

AGAINST several in Ireland, of exalted station, he had already conceived some prejudice, or some resentment.

resentment. The friends of lord Faulkland he regarded with suspicion; for he looked on this nobleman as his secret enemy. The puritans he abhorred; for, like their brethren in England, they were jealous of the prerogative, nor readily disposed to comply with every demand of the crown. Sir William Parsons, who, from a needy adventurer, had, by the power of assiduity and cunning, if not by means still more exceptionable, acquired an ample fortune, and ministerial station, was considered as a principal agent in obstructing the king's schemes: and to him therefore Wentworth was particularly ill disposed. The earl of Cork was powerful; and one favorite scheme of the new lord-deputy was to break the power of the great lords, which indeed had frequently been applied to the basest purposes. Wentworth had been instructed to pay particular attention to the interests, as well as the regulation of the established clergy: the earl had possessed himself of lands which belonged to the church; and, what the deputy had learned from Laud to regard with equal abhorrence, he had erected a family monument in the cathedral of Saint Patrick in Dublin, so untowardly situated, that it took up the place of what the prelate of Canterbury affected to call the GREAT ALTAR. The severest menaces were already denounced against the earl's injustice, and oppressive usurpation, aggravated by an act of such flagrant impiety. The clergy of the puritanic spirit were no less obnoxious; and among these were reckoned Usher of Armagh, and Bedel of Kilmore, two men eminently distinguished by their learning and piety. Bedel, with more of simplicity than policy, had united with the inhabitants of his diocese in a petition to the late lords justices, representing the new contribution as irregularly obtained, and oppressively levied. Wentworth therefore landed full fraught with the bitterest resentment against his presumptuous opposition to the king's service. Usher, more cautious,

as yet gave no offence; but lived in a quiet enjoyment of the consequence derived from his character no less than his station. To form a balance against this popular prelate, the deputy came attended by doctor Bramhal, whom he resolved to advance to a distinguished station in the church of Ireland; a man sufficiently endowed with abilities and erudition, but whose ideas both of doctrine and discipline were so consonant to those of Laud, that Oliver Cromwell afterwards called him *the Canterbury of Ireland*.

LORD Wentworth thus assumed the reins of government with lively prepossessions, and passions violently enflamed; and at the moment of his inauguration disgusted those he was to manage, by an incident not worthy to be noted, but that incidents apparently trifling serve to discover mens' tempers and dispositions. When he had visited the late lords justices, with an affected attention, which the proudest are the most ready to shew to their immediate inferiors, and had been formally invested with his office, he summoned a council; but, agreeably to the usage of that court, in which he had been trained to business, but which was utterly unknown in Ireland, he summoned only a particular number, to the utter mortification of those who were omitted. And those who were collected, among whom were the late justices, he was so careless or so insolent, as to offend by a wanton indignity. They assembled at the hour appointed; but the deputy, either from an affectation of state, or from a more agreeable engagement with a lady, whom he met in Dublin, and had just declared to be his wife, neglected them for some hours; and, when he at length appeared, instead of conferring on the business for which they had been summoned, only charged the judges to represent in their circuits the favor, which the king offered to such as would repair their defective grants; and to satisfy the protestants with regard to the new imposition for maintenance of the army, as a charge necessary in itself, and intended chiefly

Carte,
Orm. vol.
I. p. 57.

chiefly for their defence. Thus, with an air of careless insolence, he dismissed the council, declaring that they should be again speedily convened, to deliver their opinions on the means of supplying the king's immediate necessities.

IN this next meeting they were silent and suspicious. The chancellor at length suggested that the king should call an Irish parliament, in order to provide a regular and settled establishment for the army, to redress the grievances, and secure the properties of the subjects against those litigations of their titles which still subsisted; advising, in the mean time, that the voluntary contribution should be continued for another year. The earl of Cork was more reserved; Parsons, the master of the wards, utterly averse from any new contribution. The deputy was provoked. He told them, that, without their help, he would undertake, at the peril of his head, to make the king's army able to subsist; that he had taken them to counsel, not from necessity, but to give them a fair occasion of shewing their affection and duty to the king: and that the offer of another contribution might move from the protestant, as the former had been the act of the popish party. He therefore advised them to seize the opportunity of approving their loyalty; to sign an offer of the next year's contribution, and at the same time to petition his majesty that a parliament should be assembled with all convenient speed.

A PARLIAMENT was for several reasons highly desirable. The voluntary contributions to the support of the army had been already so long continued, and so regularly renewed, that the subjects had reason to apprehend that they would be converted into an hereditary charge upon their lands. The revenues of the crown required improvement; the circumstances of the realm called for an equitable settlement. Needy projectors, and rapacious courtiers, still continued the scandalous traffick of pleading the king's title against the possessors of estates,
of

Straff.
lett. vol.
I. p. 99.

of seizing their lands, or forcing them to grievous compositions. The deputy had indeed received a commission for the remedy of defective titles: but the ingenuity of court lawyers in defeating the effect of several former commissions, had impressed the subjects with a lasting terror, and left them no hopes of quiet and security, but in such a provision as their own parliament should devise. The council therefore were readily influenced by the hopes of a parliament, to renew the contribution for one year longer. Both their grant and their petition were transmitted to the king; the whole body of the realm was influenced by their example, and readily concurred in both.

WENTWORTH thus obtained a supply for the immediate occasions of his government. The army was paid, clothed, strictly inspected, duly disciplined, without burden or offence to those districts in which they were quartered; and being often drawn out in bodies, added to the reputation of the state, by the gallantry of their appearance, terrified the disorderly, and protected the good subjects. But the assembling a parliament was, as he expressed it, a matter fit to be weightily considered. Charles had an habitual horror of such assemblies. "As for that hydra," said he to his lord-deputy, "take good heed; for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break them; for I fear that they have some ground, to demand more than it is fit for me to give." In effect, the king must naturally have apprehended that an Irish parliament would claim the performance of his royal promise, and press for a confirmation of the graces transmitted in instruction to lord Faulkland. Some of these were conceived to be

Strafford's
Let. vol.
I. p. 233.

be inconsistent with the power necessary to be maintained in Ireland ; others seemed equally repugnant to the present profit of the crown. The scheme of an extensive plantation in Connaught, if not avowed, was firmly resolved on ; and the limitation of the king's title to sixty years, it was computed, would deprive the crown of full twenty thousand pounds annual revenue. The deputy, however, relying on his own address for managing a parliament, quieted the king's apprehensions, by reminding him, that such an assembly in Ireland was the less formidable, as by the law of Poynings, no act could pass, which had not previously received the royal inspection and approbation. It was resolved to comply with the desires of the nation ; and the whole delicate affair was entrusted to the conduct of lord Wentworth.

Strafford's
lett. vol.
I. p. 183.

THE great object of this lord was to prevail on the subjects to grant a liberal supply ; and at the same time to evade the confirmation of any of those graces of the year 1628, which were now deemed inconsistent with the interests of the crown. It was uncertain what impression an immediate denial of any of these might make upon the houses of parliament. To guard against all danger, he proposed that two distinct sessions should be held, and that the king's promise should be given for both : the first for providing for the army and the debts of the crown ; the second for enacting laws and graces for the benefit of the subject. His success depended in a great measure on the dispositions of the members who were to compose the house of commons. Great care was used in the nomination of sheriffs. Persons well affected to government were encouraged to stand candidates for particular places, and supported in their elections. No reliance could be placed either on the recusants, or the puritanic protestants ; all depended on a dexterous management of their passions and interests. It was contrived, therefore, that the lower house should be composed

A. D.
1634.

composed of both papists and protestants, so equally balanced, that neither party should appear predominant; and Wentworth condescended to practise secretly with each. To the recusants he observed, that if some supply were not devised for the army, before the present contribution should expire, government must necessarily recur to the weekly levies on absenters from the established worship. The protestants were reminded, that, until a regular provision should be made for the necessities of government, the king could not refuse the bounty of the recusants, or discontent them by the execution of penal statutes. Thus, while he rendered each more tractable by their apprehensions of the other party, he at the same time took care that a sufficient number of military officers should be chosen burgesses, who, by their immediate dependence on the crown, would on every critical occasion be directed by the deputy, and incline the balance of parties, as he should deem necessary.

WITH this political address Wentworth mixed no inconsiderable portion of his pride and severity. It had been usual in Ireland, previous to the holding a parliament, that the lords of the Pale should be summoned and consulted, on the time, circumstances, and business of this assembly. It was moved in council, that this custom should be now observed; but the deputy suppressed the motion peremptorily and severely. These lords deputed one of their number, the earl of Fingall, to remind him of the custom: he treated his overture with contempt and disdain, and reprimanded the presumption of it with an indecent acrimony. When the council had assembled to deliberate on the causes and considerations, and the bills to be transmitted, previous to the session of parliament, they at first seemed little inclined to tread precisely in the path which the lord deputy pointed out; they proposed several bills to be transmitted, together with the subsidies, as good inducements to content the houses: it was expected that the bill of subsidies should be

Straf.
ford's
lett. Vol.
I. p. 246.

Ib. p.
237.

be sent with blanks, that the king himself might prescribe the number and manner of these donations: the council on the other hand contended, that the sums required should be immediately ascertained, and that they should not exceed the strict bounds of necessity. The deputy quickly interrupted these deliberations: he told them, that instead of consulting what might please the people in parliament, the duty of their place required them to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one; that his majesty deserved and expected the confidence of his people: that he would admit of no conditions, no bargain or stipulation, and no constraint upon the free and chearful hearts of his people. A permanent provision was necessary for his army; not a momentary and precarious supply, "The king," said he "desires this great work may be settled by parliament. He covets to walk in this, as the most beaten path, yet not more legal than that of his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this people can be so unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals, and their own safety, it must be done without them. As a faithful servant to my master, I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means; disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him in the head of that army; and there either persuade them fully, that his majesty had reason on his side, or die in the pursuit of his commands so justly laid upon me. Nay, I do not hold it impossible to effect his desires with the general consent of the nation, by taking the supply from those only who are best able to answer it, and all this while have paid little or nothing.

THE counsellors, who but now canvassed every proposition of government with freedom, were in a moment shamefully confounded and silenced by this insolence. They trembled; and acquiesced in every

measure proposed by the deputy. The parliament assembled in extraordinary pomp. The speaker of the commons was chosen on the recommendation of Lord Wentworth. After some fruitless attempts of the recusants, to gain a majority to their side, by proceeding directly to purge the house of members unduly chosen or returned, the question of supply was proposed. With one voice the commons voted a grant of six subsidies, four for paying the debts of the establishment, two for buying in rents and pensions: not that the uses were determined by a formal appropriation: they entrusted the management of their supplies solely to the deputy, requesting only by petition, that it might be applied to these purposes. Such zeal did they express, and such delicate concern for the honor of their chief governor, that, when Sir Robert Talbot had been betrayed in debate into some unguarded reflections on his conduct, he was instantly expelled, and committed to close custody, until he should implore pardon of the lord deputy on his knees. With this prompt compliance, and this ardor of affection, they seemed to have imbibed a full portion of the arbitrary spirit of the present government, for, when one of their members had been affronted, they instantly commanded the sheriff of Dublin to inflict corporal punishment on the offender.

Com.
Journ.
V. I. p.
116.

Ib. p. 118.

Carte,
Orm.

In the upper house, the current did not run so violently in favor of the lord deputy and his measures. At the very opening of the session, he experienced that the spirit, of the old English nobility of Ireland, by no means corresponded with the contemptuous ideas he had formed of the whole nation. To guard against excesses, to which contending parties might be suddenly transported, he revived an order issued in the late reign by lord Chichester, which forbade the members to enter their respective houses with their swords. They had usually complied, without considering the insult on their privileges. The usher of the black-rod attended at the entrance

trance of the house of lords to receive the swords of the peers. The earl of Ormond, lately come to age, with a spirit and understanding suited to his descent, heard the order with scorn, and refused to deliver up the necessary ensign of his dignity. Provoked at a rude and peremptory repetition of the demand, he told the officer, that if he must receive his sword, it should be in his body: and thus marched to his seat with a stately indignation. The lord deputy highly incensed at this singular contempt of his authority, summoned the earl of Ormond to answer for his disobedience before the council. The young lord appeared, avowed his knowledge of the order, and his own wilful disobedience; but added, that he had received the investiture of his earldom *per circumram gladii*, and was both entitled and bound by the royal command, to attend his duty in parliament *gladio cinctus*. Wentworth was abashed and confounded. He consulted his friends, whether he should at once crush, or reconcile this daring spirit. They reminded him of the necessity of gaining some among the great personages of Ireland; of the power, connections, and capacity of the earl; of the good dispositions he had already discovered to the interests of the crown; of his influence in the house of peers, fortified as he was by the proxies of the lords Castlehaven, Somerset, Baltimore, and Aungier: they advised, that the lord deputy should, by all means, reconcile the earl, and attach him to his interest. The advice was pursued: Ormond soon appeared a particular favorite at the Irish court: and, at the age of twenty-four, was admitted into the privy-council.

BUT, as birth and station are not sufficient of themselves to support their own consequence, the young earl of Kildare was not treated with the same attention. Provoked at the neglect of the lord deputy, he had determined to send his proxy, and absent himself from parliament. The king by letter commanded his personal attendance. He obeyed;

obeyed; but either from resentment, or through the influence of his father-in-law the earl of Cork, warmly opposed every measure of the deputy. Wentworth was provoked; and his resentment appeared in his imperious treatment of the earl. Impatient of such insolence, he hurried secretly to the court of England, without licence of departure, as if he were determined to seek redress from the throne. But Charles had been effectually prepossessed against him; and his precipitate and fruitless adventure ended in regaining the royal favor by a submission to the deputy, and a promise of future service.

Strafford's
Letter.
vol. I.
p. 290.

In the mean time, the peers of Ireland seemed neither intimidated by the severity of the chief governor, nor deceived by his artifices. They complained loudly of public grievances; pressed for the confirmation of the royal graces; were particularly urgent for establishing that article, which confined the king's claims on their lands, to a retrospect of sixty years; and frequently mentioned the royal promise, in a manner highly offensive to an administration, resolved that it should not be fulfilled. They debated warmly and frequently on several regulations, which they conceived necessary to be established for the public good. They proceeded yet further. Without regard to the provisions of Poyning's statute, or considering themselves as the king's hereditary council, and therefore, particularly entitled to the designation, mentioned in this statute, they ordered the attorney general to draw up several laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be transmitted into England. No governor was more tenacious of the law of Poyning's, or considered an inviolable adherence to this law in a light of greater consequence to the crown, than lord Wentworth. Yet, for the present, these extraordinary proceedings were unnoticed. The warm temper of the lords was less alarming, as the neglect of a committee of the commons, in not attending

tending a conference in due time, had occasioned a quarrel, which prevented any dangerous concert between the two houses. The bills of subsidy were passed. The only other bill, which the administration intended should be enacted in this session, was one for the confirmation of letters patent to be passed on the new commission, for remedy of defective titles. This also was established into a law, and attended by a petition from the lords to the chief governor, that this commission should be executed with such speed and moderation, that the royal favor might be the more welcome, and the subsidies the better paid. His answer was gracious; the session on the point of closing; it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power assumed by the lords, of framing and transmitting bills; and this was done by a formal protest against their proceeding, made by the lord deputy on concluding the session, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords. The protest recites the purport of the law of Poynings, and the explanatory law of Philip and Mary. It enumerates the several bills drawn up by order of the house of lords, and which had in their name been presented to the lord deputy, in order for their transmission into England.

"All which proceedings of their lordships. We
"the lord deputy," saith Wentworth, "taking into
"due consideration, and weighing with the said
"statutes, although we do not conceive, that the
"said lords, advisedly or purposedly intended to vio-
"late or innovate in any thing, otherwise than by
"the said statutes are provided; yet, for the avoid-
"ing of any misrepresentation, which, by reason of
"that manner of proceeding, may in after-times
"be made, to the intrenchment of the said acts of
"parliament, or his majesty's regal power, whereof
"we are and will be always most tender; in dis-
"charge of the duty we owe to the preservation of
"his majesty's honor, and that the like mistake in
"their lordship's proceedings may futurely be avoid-
"ed:—We have therefore thought fit this day, in
"full

“ full parliament, to PROTEST against that course
 “ held by their lordships, as not any ways belong-
 “ ing to their lordships, to give order to the king’s
 “ learned counsel, or any other, for the framing or
 “ drawing up any acts to pass in parliament; but
 “ that the same solely belongs to us the lord deputy
 “ and council. We the lord deputy do hereby fur-
 “ ther declare, that their lordships have power only
 “ by remonstrance and petition to represent to the
 “ lord deputy and council, for the time being, such
 “ public considerations as they shall think fit and
 “ good for the Commonwealth, and so to submit
 “ them to be drawn into acts, and transmitted into
 “ England, or otherwise altered or rejected, accord-
 “ ing as the lord deputy and council, in their wis-
 “ dom, shall judge and hold expedient; and that,
 “ in such wise as the said acts of parliament, in these
 “ cases, have limited and appointed. And we the
 “ lord deputy do trust, that their lordships will take
 “ this as a seasonable and necessary admonishment
 “ from us, and forbear the like course hereafter.”

This protest was received without any apparent ill temper in the lords; and the session closed, with the utmost triumph on the part of the chief governor, for the concessions he had obtained.

THE subsequent meetings of this parliament though intended solely for consulting the interests of the people, yet did not pass without clamour and dissatisfaction. When provision had been once made for the necessities of government. Wentworth spoke with greater freedom of the graces. He told the commons plainly, that some of them were only occasional and temporary; not proper to be enacted when the occasion was removed; that others were already provided for; several difficult to be regulated by an invariable law; some indeed fit to be given in charge, and referred to the care and integrity of the proper officers. In two material points he absolutely denied their request, one for limiting the king’s title to sixty years; which was judged inconsistent with his

his service; the other for enrolling former surrenders, and passing new patents of estates in the province of Connaught, and county of Clare; which would have defeated the scheme of a western plantation, with which the king was totally possessed; for plantations were now considered as engines of the crown for raising money.

SOME more equitable designs, for the interests of the subjects, gave particular offence to the recusants. By the common law of Ireland, lands and tenements ^{Carta, Ormond.} had not been devisable by will; so that no one could, in that manner, legally provide for his younger children, by charging his real estate, when his personal was not sufficient; nor could they be regularly conveyed from one to another, unless by solemn livery and seisin, matter of record, or writing sufficiently made without fraud or artifice. Ways, however, were invented to alter the property and possession of lands, by fraudulent feoffments, and other assurances, to secret uses and trusts, by long leases, for near a thousand years; sometimes by wills, either in writing, or by words, or in cases of extremity, by signs and tokens. Such feoffments and long leases were at first used by the Romish party, to defeat the king of his wardships, and save the heirs of lands held *in capite*, from suing out their liveries, which could not regularly be obtained, without taking the oath of supremacy. But these artifices were also employed to defeat other lords of their rights and aids, widows of their dowers, and widowers of their tenancies by courtesy. Titles were thus rendered intricate; heirs unjustly disinherited, without knowing whom to sue for recovery of their rights; and perpetual occasions offered for perjury. The king was deprived of the dues incident to the crown; the lands of rebels and felons, attainted, were screened from his claims; and men were the less deterred from entering into rebellion, when they ran no hazard, but of their own persons.

FOR

For remedy of all, two acts were framed, purporting, " that all persons, for whose use any others
" were seized of lands, rent-charges, &c. should be
" deemed in actual possession thereof; and that no
" conveyance of any estate of inheritance or free-
" hold, by bargain and sale, should be valid, un-
" less by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled, in
" one of the king's courts at Dublin, or in the
" county where such estate lay, before the *custos*
" *rotulorum*, two justices, and the clerk of the peace,
" within six months after the date of the deeds.
" Such as were seized of estates in fee-simple, were
" to be enabled to alienate them by will in writing, or
" by any other act lawfully executed: Those who
" held of the king in chief by knight's service, or by
" knight's service not in chief, to dispose of two
" thirds of their lands; those who held by soccage,
" of the whole; reserving to the king, in this latter
" case, his rights and fines of alienation, and, in the
" former, reserving not only these, but also the
" wardship and custody of the other third; the fine
" for alienation being fixed at a third part of the
" yearly value of the lands devised."

THESE regulations could not be agreeable to the recusants; for they were directly pointed against those artifices they had invented to defeat the king of his wardship of minors, and custody of their lands; and they empowered him to have those minors educated from their early years, in the communion of the established church. But the influence of government soon conquered their opposition. The acts were passed, together with a third for vacating fraudulent conveyances, sales, and alienations, made since the beginning of the late reign.

THE other laws of this parliament met with little obstruction, as they were calculated purely for regulating the police, or for promoting the quiet and improvement of the realm, reforming the barbarous customs, and refining the manners of the people;

people; abolishing odious distinctions between the original natives and other subjects; adopting the most valuable of the English statutes enacted since the reign of Henry the seventh; regulating the prosecutions on penal statutes, so as to guard the subject against grievance and oppression; preventing the depauperation of ecclesiastical dignities, colleges, and hospitals, by leases at a less rent than half the value of the premises; with other provisions for the security of estates, and improvement of lands. These, and such like Institutions, do honor to the administration by which they were supported, but the support of lord Wentworth proved in one instance insufficient. The two houses united in a petition that the king would establish a mint in Ireland. The deputy readily promised to enforce the request; but the English council, whose views or judgments were not so favorable to the Irish subjects, defeated their application, "thereby," saith Mr. Carte, "giving them occasion to reflect on the unhappiness of their situation, in being under the control of a body of men of a different country, who have no *natural inclination* for the welfare of their's, nor *any interests* in the good of it." An assertion, which we must pronounce false and precipitate, unless we consider the tempers and understandings of their fellow-subjects of England, as odious and contemptible to an extraordinary degree. But the parliament of Ireland do not seem on this occasion to have thought or spoken with the asperity of this author; for when an act of free and general pardon was followed by a dissolution, they departed with content and satisfaction. Some few provisions for the public good, which had been defeated by the recusant members, Wentworth, in the high strain of prerogative, determined to establish by an act of state.

*Strafford's
Letter,
vol. 1.
p. 432.*

With the parliament, sat also a convocation of the clergy. They granted eight subsidies to the

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king

king ; and at the same time solicited redress of several grievances, and correction of several disorders in ecclesiastical affairs. The condition of their church was at this time deplorable. The places of worship in ruin ; the possessions of the clergy alienated, in the midst of public confusion and disorders. Appropriations, Commendams, and violent intrusions had reduced the rural clergy to contempt and beggary. Absolute grants, and long leases, made by avaricious incumbents, or extorted from the timid and oppressed, had reduced the revenues of bishoprics to a scandalous insufficiency. And even the provisions made for the clergy in the late reign, on settling the plantations, had, in a great measure, been defeated by artful and fraudulent commissioners. Ignorance, negligence, and corruption of manners in the established clergy, were the consequences of their poverty. A Romish hierarchy, which exercised a regular jurisdiction in every quarter of the kingdom, were sufficiently assiduous to take advantage of their absence or neglect, and in some places had possessed themselves of ecclesiastical lands. The more virulent of the Scottish presbyterians, on the other hand, were outrageously zealous for their own discipline and worship, offered daily insults to the established church-government, and treated even its rites and worship with provoking contempt.

THESE sectaries, as they were called, appeared to lord Wentworth, at least equally enemies to the truth of religion with the popish party. A perfect conformity was the great work, which he and his friend Laud, were sincerely zealous to establish thoroughly in Ireland, but which indeed exceeded the abilities of both. The procedure of the lord deputy, however, was sufficiently judicious ; for he began with providing churches to receive, and able ministers to teach the people. Commissions for the reparation of churches issued through

through the kingdom. The example of the king, who consented to settle the appropriations possessed by the crown upon resident clergy, the desire of recommending themselves to the deputy, and the apprehensions of his power and severity, influenced many to a voluntary concurrence in the work of reformation, by erecting and endowing places of worship, and resigning those possessions, which had been usurped from the church. The more reluctant were either attacked, or threatened with rigorous prosecutions; and from the earl of Cork, in particular, the deputy contrived to wrest about two thousand pounds annual revenue of tythes, which, from the want of incumbents, and the disorder of the times, he had gotten into his possession, and converted to appropriations. Laws were procured in the late parliament for restitution of the rights of the clergy, and provisions made to prevent all future alienations.

THE cares of lord Wentworth were extended to the education and instruction of the rising generation of Irish clergy. He inspected minutely into the state and circumstances of the university of Dublin; and found them in considerable disorder, partly by the means of a weak governor, and partly by the defects of the present statutes. The governor was removed, and a person, conceived to be more sufficient, substituted in his place. The statutes were submitted to the inspection of the archbishop of Canterbury; who was persuaded to draw up a new body of laws for this university, as he had done for that of Oxford; and these were established by the royal authority.

THE great point for which the king, archbishop Laud, and the lord deputy were equally zealous, still remained to be effected; the complete union of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in this latter kingdom, as the rule of doctrine and discipline. The clergy of the puritanic cast were by no means favourers of
such

such an attempt; and affected a zealous solicitude for what they called the independence of their church. Usher, the head of this party, had never been regarded by lord Wentworth with a favourable eye; but, on account of his station, character, and popularity, was to be treated with respect and caution. It was mortifying to the compiler of the Irish articles of religion in the late reign, to find them now threatened with a solemn abolition; and had the temper of this learned prelate disposed him to turbulence and opposition, he might have proved highly vexatious and embarrassing to the deputy, supported as he was by the judgments and affections of almost all the Irish clergy. To reconcile him to the projected reformation, it was agreed, that no censure should be passed on any of the former Irish articles, but that they should be virtually, not formally abrogated, by the establishment of those of the church of England; and also, that the English canons should not be received, in a body, but a collection made of such as might be most acceptable, to form a rule of discipline for the Irish church. The articles were received, and the canons established agreeably to the lord deputy's mind; yet more by the influence of his authority, than the inclinations of a great part of the clergy; although but one member of the convocation ventured publicly to avow his dissent.

THESE regulations in the ecclesiastical system were followed by an establishment too odious, and therefore too dangerous, to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of an high-commission court, which was erected in Dublin after the English model, with the same formality, and the same tremendous powers. The intentions of this establishment, (as the deputy explains them to Laud) were to countenance the despised state of the clergy to support the ecclesiastical courts, and restrain the extortion of their officers, to annul foreign jurisdiction, to punish polygamies and adulteries, to provide for the maintenance

Strafford's
 Letter,
 vol. 1.
 p. 381.

Ib. p. 342.

Ib. p. 188.

tenance and residence of the clergy, to inquire into the application of charitable and pious donations, to bring the people to a conformity of religion, and, "in the way to all these, raise perhaps a good revenue to the crown."

THE favorite object, indeed, of this chief go-^{Carte,}vernor, which he ever kept in view, through all his ^{Orin.} transactions, was this of improving the revenue, and ^{Straf. Let} supplying the necessities of his royal master. And ^{vol. I.} when for this purpose we find him protecting and extending commerce, guarding the coasts from piracy, introducing manufactures, and encouraging a spirit of well directed industry, we must acknowledge, that such means were liberal and laudable. A subject of Ireland should with gratitude record, that one scheme happily and judiciously devised by lord Wentworth, laid the first foundation of the present affluence and prosperity of this country.

He found among the Irish little trade or manufactures, except some small beginnings of a cloathing trade, which promised to encrease, and might in time essentially affect the staple commodity of England. Ireland furnished wool in great quantities, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets, on more moderate terms than the English traders. A governor, particularly jealous of any diminution of the king's customs, was alarmed at this prospect; he considered farther, that the Irish subjects, if restrained from indrapping their own wool, must of necessity fetch their cloathing from England; so as in some sort to be dependent on this country for their livelihood. Hence the connection of these realms must become firm and indissoluble, as the Irish could not revolt from their allegiance to the crown, without nakedness to themselves and their families. For these reasons he laid discouragements on their woollen manufacture; but at the same time determined to establish another article of trade, at least equally beneficial to this people, and which promised service, rather than detriment to England.

It was judged, that the soil of many parts of Ireland was well fitted to the raising of flax; some experiments made by order of the deputy confirmed it; the women were naturally addicted to spinning; the living, and consequently the labour of the Irish was cheap; could they be trained to the manufacture of linen-cloth, Wentworth, with the sanguine hopes of a projector, conceived that they might soon be enabled to under-sell the French and Hollanders; he therefore happily determined to establish this manufacture in Ireland. Infant schemes are ever attended with an expence, terrible to men of cautious and contracted minds. To encourage a spirit of enterprize, Wentworth himself embarked in his favorite project, even to an expence (as he stated it) of thirty thousand pounds. Flaxseed was imported from Holland; work-men were brought from France and the Low Countries. The seed prospered, the people were employed; looms fitted up, regulations prescribed for yarn and cloth, so as to secure the sale by the goodness of the commodity. Such were the beginnings of the linen trade of Ireland; which, though fatally interrupted by the subsequent disorders of this country, yet revived with all its happy consequences on the return of peace and tranquillity.

A. D.
1635.

Strafford's
Letters,
vol. 1.

BUT such schemes of improvement, how promising soever, were yet gradual in their operation, and calculated rather for the advantage of future times, than for supplying the present necessities of the crown. Wentworth was impatient to signalize his administration by a service of immediate and extensive emolument to his royal master. His project was nothing less, than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught, and to establish a new Plantation through this whole province: a project, which, when first proposed, in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement, but which suited the undis-mayed and enterprising genius of lord Wentworth. For this he had opposed the confirmation of the royal
graces,

graces, transmitted to lord Faulkland, and taken to himself the odium of so flagrant a violation of the royal promise. The parliament was at an end; and the deputy at leisure to execute a scheme, which, as it was offensive and alarming, required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of state, and the memorials of ancient monasteries were ransacked, to ascertain the king's original title to Connaught. It was soon discovered, that in the grant of Henry the third, to Richard de Burgo, five cantreds were reserved to the crown, adjacent to the castle of Athlone; that this grant included the whole remainder of the province, which was now alleged to have been forfeited by Aedh O'Connor, the Irish provincial chieftain; that the lands and lordship of de Burgo, descended lineally to Edward the fourth; and were confirmed to the Crown by a statute of Henry the seventh. The ingenuity of court-lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the possessors of these lands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was found, that the indentures made between Sir John Perrot, and the inhabitants of this province, were irregular, and unauthorized by his commission; and the queen's patents voided by the non-performance of conditions; that those, granted by James, were obtained on false suggestions, and executed without attention to the royal will and direction. In several patents, passed by commission of this king, there was reserved to the crown, without particular authority, a tenure by common knight's service: a kind of tenure particularly agreeable to the recusants, as it did not oblige them to do homage, or take the oath of supremacy. But the lawyers were now confident, that, as this was not particularly warranted by the commission, as the law ever implied a tenure *in capite*, where none in particular is expressed, and as a tenure by common knight's service, was less beneficial to the crown, the grants must be adjudged to have been made in deceit of the crown, which was hereby defrauded of its wards and

and other profits, and, of consequence, void and illegal.

ARMED with these authorities, Wentworth, at the head of the commissioners of plantation, proceeded to the western province. The inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, had already acknowledged the king's title to their lands, and submitted to a plantation. It was now deemed expedient to begin with those of Roscommon. The Commission was opened in this county; the evidences of the king's title produced, examined, and submitted to a jury, formed of the principal inhabitants, purposely, (as the lord deputy expressed it) that "they might answer the king a round fine in the castle chamber, in case they should prevaricate." They were told by Wentworth, that his majesty's intention in establishing his undoubted title, was to make them a rich and civil people; that he purposed not to deprive them of their just possessions, but to invest them with a considerable part of his own: that he needed not their interposition to vindicate his right, which might be established by the usual course of law, upon an information of intrusion; but that he wished his people to share with him in the honor and profit of the glorious and excellent work he was now to execute; to his majesty it was indifferent, whether their verdict should acknowledge or deny his title. If they were inclined to truth, and to their own interests, they were to find the title for the king; if to do that which was simply best for his majesty, without regard to their own good, the deputy advised them, roughly and pertinaciously to deny to find any title at all.

*Strafford's
Let. vol. I.
p. 442.*

THE presence and interposition of a lord deputy, and a deputy whose character and temper were fitted to operate on men's passions, had probably their full effect on this occasion. The king's title was found without scruple or hesitation; and the verdict attended with a petition, for an equitable treatment of present proprietors, and a due provision for

for the church. The deputy not only promised ample satisfaction in these particulars, but published a proclamation, whereby all proprietors throughout the province were assured of easy compositions; and of new and indefeasible grants. The counties of Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roscommon, and found the king's title with equal cheerfulness.

It now remained to prosecute the royal claims in the county of Galway; but here, as was suspected, the commissioners found greater difficulties to encounter. The inhabitants were almost wholly of the Romish communion, influenced by their clergy, encouraged by recusant lawyers, and supported by the power of the governor of their county, Uliac earl of Clanricard and Saint Alban's, a nobleman of excellent character, potently allied, and of considerable esteem and consequence at the court of England. There he now resided, but held a constant correspondence with his kinsmen and countrymen; and was their avowed and zealous patron, at a time when his own great possessions were in danger, and his country threatened with a sudden and violent revolution of property. Men thus influenced, encouraged, and supported, were not easily intimidated by the deputy. Their lawyers pleaded boldly and violently against the king's title. The jury were deaf to every argument in its favor, and refused to find it. Wentworth was enraged; he laid a fine of one thousand pounds upon the sheriff; and bound the obstinate jurors to appear in the castle-chamber, and answer for their offence, where they were fined, each in the sum of four thousand pounds, sentenced to imprisonment, until it should be paid, and to acknowledge their offence in court, upon their knees.

THE severity of this sentence, and even the whole proceedings of the lord deputy, not in Galway only, but in the other western counties, were represented in England with every circumstance of aggravation,

gravation, and afforded ample matter for invective to the numerous enemies of lord Wentworth. He was accused of rancor and scandalous injustice to the earl of Clanricard. Every instance of his rigorous administration was recalled to view; and the personal enemies he had made in Ireland were countenanced in their complaints. He had obliged lord Wilmot, who had for many years commanded the army in this country, to make compensation for lands he had usurped from the crown, and unjustly alienated; he had compelled the earl of Cork to resign his depredations of the church: these were represented as instances of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. His friend Laud was alarmed at the clamours raised against him, and hinted the propriety of a temperate and cautious conduct; but the temper of lord Wentworth was too violent and headstrong, and his maxims of administration too rigorous, not to enflame, instead of allaying the virulence of his enemies. In some instances he seemed to have conceived, that the dignity of his government could not be supported, but by such exertions of authority, as bespeak an utter intoxication of power and greatness.

SIR Piers Crosby had been distinguished as a soldier in the expedition to the isle of R , and the principal means of saving the English forces in their retreat. He commanded a regiment, and was of the privy council in Ireland. In the second session of the late parliament, he ventured to oppose some measures of administration. The deputy reprimanded, and accused him of a violation of his oath, in voting against bills to which he had assented in council, and concurred in transmitting them. Crosby was sequestered from the council board. He complained of this severity by petition; he desired licence to repair to England, as if resolved to appeal to the king. It was refused; and on the representations of Wentworth, his majesty directed him to be removed entirely from the privy council.

A libel

A libel appeared, containing severe reflections on the conduct of the lord deputy; and Crosby was immediately suspected as the author: on this suspicion he was arrested and committed to prison; his study opened forcibly, his papers secured and ransacked; yet no copy of the libel could be found to prove his guilt. But if he had not framed, he at least encouraged and divulged the slander: on this ground, a virulent prosecution was commenced against him in the castle chamber. Wentworth now affected to interpose, and solicited the king to pardon him; but Charles, with his usual stateliness and severity, commanded that the offender should be left to the censure of a court composed of obsequious ministers and creatures of the deputy. The fine and damages decreed were so excessive, that Crosby found it necessary to save himself from utter ruin by an humiliating submission to lord Wentworth.

Stafford's
Lett. Vol.
I. p. 392.

BUT neither this instance of rigor, nor the imperious commitment of the earl of Kildare to prison, for hesitating to submit his property to the sentence of the privy council, made such an impression either in England or Ireland, as the amazing severity experienced by lord Mountnorris.

SIR FRANCIS ANNESLEY, created baron of Mountnorris, had adventured into Ireland in the late reign, and acquired fortune, station, and consequence. He had been honored with several marks of favor and confidence both by James and Charles: and, at the arrival of lord Wentworth to his government, was considered, and represented by the deputy, as particularly attached to the interests of the crown. The noble historian describes him as a Clarendon man, whose usual course was to insinuate himself into the affection of a new chief governor, and to malign him on his departure; and, if we may believe the representations of lord Wentworth, his private character was neither respectable nor decent. However these things may be, some causes of mutual dissatisfaction had arisen between the deputy and this

Staff.
Lett. p.
402 403.

this lord, and laid the foundation of a rancorous enmity. Mountnorris had, by order of the king, been abridged of certain fees usually received in his office of vice-treasurer, which he naturally ascribed to the instances of the lord deputy. To mortify him still further, Wentworth discovered that a gratuity had been paid to expedite the discharge of a sum, granted by warrant from the treasury; and commanded that it should be instantly refunded. Mountnorris pleaded that the money had been received by one of his domestics without his privity; so that the deputy could not enjoy the additional satisfaction of removing him from his office. He was impatient for an occasion to make him feel the weight of power: Mountnorris, with equal impatience, waited for the time when that power should expire.

It is scarcely to be supposed that these lords, thus circumstanced, should be ever cautious and guarded in speaking of each other; or if Wentworth had less occasion for reserve, that Mountnorris, in some unguarded moment of privacy and social confidence, should not be surprised into some expression of intemperance or imprudence. A few days after the dissolution of parliament, in a private company at the table of the lord chancellor, it was observed, that the deputy had just now been much provoked by the awkwardness of a domestic; who attending him in an accession of the gout, had hurt his foot grievously in removing a stool. One of the guests, turning to lord Mountnorris, observed, that the offender was of his own name and kindred. The domestic, it seems, had formerly experienced the haughtiness of the deputy, who, at a review of some troops, had threatened him rudely with his staff, or given him a slight blow. From this incident lord Mountnorris took occasion to observe, that he had perhaps wilfully offended, in revenge of that public affront he had once received from the lord deputy; "but the gentleman has a brother," said he, "who would not have taken such a revenge."

AFTER

AFTER an interval of some months, this mysterious expression was conveyed to the lord deputy, by some officious creatures of power. His pride and resentment dictated the most obnoxious interpretation of it; and nothing less than the utter ruin of Mountnorris was determined, as the punishment adequate to his indiscretion. He commanded a company in the king's service; he was seized, brought as a culprit to be tried by martial law, in a court where Wentworth presided as general, accused of uttering words disgraceful to his superior in command, of breeding mutiny in the army, and "impeaching the obeying his general;" and his expressions at the lord chancellor's were attested, and sufficiently proved. In vain did Mountnorris plead, that they ought in justice to be interpreted favorably; in vain did he profess his own intentions to have been really respectful to the lord deputy. His judges pronounced the words to be incapable of any indulgent construction: and that, aggravated as they were by the manner of delivering them, they rendered the speaker a delinquent in a transcendent manner, against the person of his general, and the king's authority. The obsequious court with one voice decreed, that lord Mountnorris should be imprisoned for his offence, deprived of his commission in the army, disarmed, declared incapable of any military office, and shot to death, or beheaded, at the pleasure of the general.

THERE was a ridiculous meanness in Wentworth's apology for this transaction; that the sentence against Mountnorris was the act of a court of officers, in which he had neither declared his own opinion, nor openly influenced that of others: nor was it accepted as a palliation of his insolence and malice, that he had not, with a vengeance perfectly diabolical, really intended to put this lord to death; that he and his council petitioned the king to remit the full and final severity of the sentence; and that Mountnorris, harassed by a rigorous prosecution, morti-

A. D.
1636.

Carte,
Orm. vol.
III. p. 2.
—11.

mortified by an ignominious sentence, deprived of his offices, and wearied by the anguish of a tedious confinement, at length obtained his pardon from the throne. The enemies of Wentworth in England inveighed against this prosecution with particular triumph; his friends were scandalized; and even Land, with all his imperious violence, trembled at the bold excesses of severity which his friend had hazarded. But Wentworth, confiding in the favor of his royal master, was equally unmoved by the clamor of enemies, and the apprehensions of friends. In defiance of popular odium, he quitted the reins of government for a while, and appeared in London. Before the king and council he expatiated on the services he had performed in Ireland, his care of the revenue, the army, and the church, the excellent laws he had procured, and his schemes for the advancement of commerce and manufactures. He lamented, that the subjects of Ireland had in some instances been treated as aliens and foreigners; as in the imposition of four shillings on every ton of coals, which was as much as either the French or Dutch had ever paid; the excessive rates charged on horses transported into this kingdom, to the particular inconvenience of the army, and the duties on live cattle sent from Ireland. In these particular grievances, he prevailed on the king to grant an immediate redress; and when he attempted to apologize for the rigor of his administration, Charles interrupted him with a warm approbation of his conduct. He was desired to proceed in the work so happily begun; and assured, that it must be acknowledged as the best service, which the crown ever had received in Ireland.

He returned to his government with the same principles, and pursued the same conduct. Individuals were frequently aggrieved by an administration which disdained the rigid and exact restraints of law; but the kingdom in general experienced the good effects of that composure produced by

by the terror of a severe, vigilant, and active government. The revenue was considerably increased by improvements made in the constant rents, and the sums raised by fines, on renewal of letters patent and grants for plantations. The finding the royal title to the possessions of the O'Byrnes in Wicklow, produced fifteen thousand pounds. The city of London was sued for breach of covenants in the plantations of Derry and Colerain, and their forfeit lands redeemed by a fine of seventy thousand pounds. But, notwithstanding all the pains taken for the establishment of the western plantation, notwithstanding the case of tenure was solemnly argued, and judgment finally pronounced for the king, yet such was the clamor raised against the attempt, and such the encreasing disorders of England, that the scheme was laid aside. The death of the earl of Saint Alban's enflamed the popular odium against the lord deputy: it was imputed to the vexation conceived by this nobleman, at the attempts against his property, by an insolent governor, who possessed himself of the earl's house at Portumna, and in his hall held that court which impeached his title to his lands.

THOSE enemies of both kingdoms, who watched ^{Carte} his conduct, and interpreted every act of his administration with severity, were still farther gratified ^{Clarend.} by his rigorous treatment of Loftus, lord chancellor of Ireland. One Sir John Gifford had married a daughter of this nobleman, and claimed some settlement of fortune on his wife, which the father was not disposed to grant. A petition to the privy council was favorably received from Gifford, his cause heard, and sentence pronounced in his favor. The illegality of such proceedings was by this time generally understood in Ireland. Loftus refused obedience to the order of council; was instantly sequestered from that board, ordered to deliver the great seal into the hands of the lord deputy, and committed to prison. He had not scrupled to declare.

clare, that the sentence of council had been dictated by Wentworth, and to accuse him as the real author of his disgrace. His suggestions had the greater weight, when letters were divulged, written by the lord deputy to the wife of Sir John Gifford, in a strain so affectionate and gallant, as raised suspicions of an unlawful intercourse between them. The violence of clamor against the oppression and injustice of this governor was thus highly increased. Loftus was encouraged to appeal to the throne; but Charles was fully prejudiced in favor of a man who acted agreeably to his own principles of government; and Loftus found it necessary to purchase his liberty and his former station by an humble petition to the lord deputy and council, by which he acknowledged his offence in the most mortifying terms of submission and repentance.

BUT, however individuals were aggrieved by the imperious severity of the present government, the nation, which had never known a strict and scrupulous administration of English law, cleared from every thing arbitrary or oppressive, was abundantly consoled by the advantages derived from the administration of lord Wentworth. The army, which had long proved an odious and intolerable burden to the inhabitants, yet scarcely of essential service to the crown, was well disciplined, duly paid, preserved in good condition, inoffensive to the peaceable subjects, and formidable to the enemies of government. The revenue was unencumbered, and a large sum lay ready in the exchequer, to answer any sudden emergency. The ecclesiastical establishment was protected, the revenues of the church improved, and abler and more respectable teachers generally provided for the people. The Scottish puritans were indeed sometimes offended at the indulgence shewn to recusants; but in the present situation of the kingdom, where far the greater number of inhabitants, and these possessed of power and conse-

consequence, were of the Romish communion, the most obvious maxims of policy forbid any rigorous execution of penal statutes. It was sufficient to confine recusants to a less public and offensive exercise of religion, so as to preserve the authority of government, without provoking violent and dangerous discontents. Peace, order, obedience, and industry, distinguished the present period from that of any former administration; the value of lands was encreased; commerce extended; the customs amounted to almost four times their former sum; the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported; and shipping was found to have encreased even an hundred fold. Such were the benefits derived from the administration of lord Wentworth, however in many instances justly unpopular, odious, and oppressive.

C H A P. II.

Insurrection of Scotland. . . . alarming to lord Wentworth. . . .
He imposes an engagement on the Ulster Scots. . . . He supplies the king with money and soldiers. . . . Defeats the attempts of Argyle. . . . Project of the earl of Antrim. . . .
Disapproved by Wentworth. . . . Favored by the king. . . .
Vanity and insincerity of Antrim. . . . Wentworth recalled to England. . . . Created earl of Strafford, and knight of the Garter. . . . Returns to Dublin. . . . Meets a parliament
. . . . Zeal and liberality of the Irish commons. . . . New army levied. . . . Strafford returns to England. . . . Sudden change of disposition in the Irish parliament. . . . Causes of this change. . . . Remonstrance of the commons against the clergy. . . . Their new regulation of subsidies. . . . Strafford returns to Ireland. . . . Preparations for invading Scotland
. . . . Treaty of Rippon. . . . Orders for disbanding the Irish army. . . . Increasing spirit of opposition in the Irish parliament, . . . Injudicious complaints. . . . Order for the assessment of subsidies. . . . torn from the commons' journals by the king's command. . . . REMONSTRANCE of grievances voted hastily by the commons. . . . transmitted to England
. . . . Irish agents in London. . . . Earl of Strafford impeached
. . . . Death of Wandesford. . . . The king yields to the Irish agents. . . . Lords justices appointed. . . . Further compliances of the king. . . . The Irish agents present the remonstrance to the throne. . . . Answer of Sir George Ratcliffe. . . . The agents decline to reply particularly. . . . New session of the Irish parliament. . . . Demands of the commons. . . . They protest against the preamble of the first subsidy bill. . . . Lords prepare a petition of grievances. . . . Motion of the bishop of Meath. . . . Lords jealous of their privilege. . . .
QUERIES presented by the commons to the upper house, for the opinion of the judges. . . . Transmitted to the parliament of England
. . . . Impeachments in Ireland. . . . A prorogation. . . . Act
of

of attainder passed against the earl of Strafford. . . . Effects of this event on Ireland. . . . Concessions of the king to the Irish agents. . . . Their further demands. . . . Important question arising from the impeachments of the commons. . . . undecided. . . . Arbitrary proceedings of the commons against the clergy. . . . against the university. . . .
QUERIES resumed. . . . Answer of the judges unsatisfactory to the commons. . . . Their decisions on the several queries. . . . They recede from the impeachments. . . . They oppose the design of sending the disbanded army into foreign service. . . . Suspicious attempt to examine the king's stores. . . . Return of the Irish agents.

THE commotions of Scotland had by this time A. D. grown violent and alarming; and the perplexities^{1639.} of Charles became every day more inextricable. His attempts, to reform the discipline and worship of the Scottish church, had awakened the discontents, and shocked the religious sentiments of a sullen, determined, and intractable people, agitated by the fervor of religious zeal, even to a degree of desperate fanaticism. The introduction of his liturgy had been opposed with rage and execration; tumults, insurrections, formidable combinations, an universal spirit of opposition, at once deliberate and strenuous, could not shake the purpose of the king, nor check the violence of his passion for religious conformity. His proclamation, which attempted to allay the rising commotions, by promises of pardon, and exhortations to submission, was answered by a protestation, encouraged and presented by men of power and consequence. The malecontents, with a formidable regularity, assembled at Edinburgh, issued their orders, and framed the famous COVENANT. It was received with enthusiastic rapture, and declared to be equally dear and sacred to the people with their baptismal vow. Their insurrection, supported by able and powerful nobles of their own nation, and secretly fomented by the French

French minister, evidently threatened some terrible convulsion. The concessions which Charles at length deemed it necessary to propose, only served to discover his weakness, and to animate these stubborn Northerners. They imported arms, they recalled their officers from the continent; they chose a general, and seized the king's forts; while Charles, on his part, advanced to Berwick, and prepared to encounter this desperate commotion.

FROM the beginnings of these disorders, lord Wentworth naturally and justly apprehended that they might soon extend to Ireland; or, to use his own expressions, that "the skirts of the great rain, "if not some part of the thundering and lightning, might fall on this kingdom." The Scots settled in the northern counties, generally agreed with those of their original country in religious doctrine and discipline; and though more controled, were really no less inveterate enemies to the established mode of church government and worship. Several of them had taken the covenant, and passed secretly into Scotland to share in the glorious cause now so happily advanced; the less active were persuaded that the hour was at hand, when their own discipline should be fully established; and boldly resisted the attempts at this time usually made to reduce them to conformity. They were still further encouraged by those from Scotland who traded with the northern counties. These men boasted that they had taken the covenant; they magnified the zeal and spirit of their countrymen; they affected to despise those, who could entertain a doubt of their success, or scruple to unite warmly in their cause.

WENTWORTH was justly alarmed. He knew that several, of great consequence and high station in Ireland, were favorers of the puritanic cause; he could not be insensible, nor did his friends fail to remind him, that the original natives might be tempted

*Strafford's
lett. vol.
II. p. 219.*

ib. p. 240.

tempted to take some dangerous advantage of the present disorders. His royal master, to whose service he was particularly devoted, was reduced to a perplexed and perilous situation; he therefore determined to act with redoubled vigilance and assiduity.

A new engagement was prescribed to the Ulster Scots, whereby they promised allegiance to the king, and submission to his commands, with an abhorrence of the proceedings of their countrymen, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenor of this present oath. While this engagement was framing at the council board, some principal inhabitants of the northern province arrived at Dublin to petition for such a test of their loyalty, and received it with alacrity. It was imposed on all ages, sexes, and conditions; those who refused it were fined and imprisoned, in some cases, with shocking circumstances of barbarity, as the enemies of Wentworth alleged. Charles was so pleased with this precaution, that he imitated it in England.

No situation of affairs demanded greater vigor and circumspection in a chief governor of Ireland; and no governor could have been more attentive to his immediate department, as well as the general interest of his royal master, than lord Wentworth. At the first alarm of the Scottish insurrection, thirty thousand pounds were remitted to the king from the Irish exchequer, to which the deputy added some considerable donations from his private fortune. The Irish army was reviewed, regulated, and strengthened by an augmentation of four hundred cavalry. A body of five hundred men carefully disciplined, and gallantly appointed, were at the king's desire transported into England under the command of Willoughby, an experienced officer, to form a garrison for Carlisle. Three hundred more were destined to secure the castle of Dunbarton, but prevented by the activity of the covenanters in seizing this

Strafford's
Last vol.
II. p. 341.

Carte,
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this important post. The care of those parts of Scotland, which lay contiguous to the province of Ulster, had been entrusted by the male-contents to the earl of Argyle, their powerful and zealous partizan. To alarm him with the fears of an invasion, and at the same time to awe those Ulster Scots, who favored the cause of their covenanting brethren, the main body of the Irish army was ordered to rendezvous at Carricfergus; and reports industriously spread that the deputy was speedily to take the command in person. When Argyle, with equal vigilance, had opened a communication with the Scots of Ulster, and sent his emissaries to excite them to take arms, his ships were seized; a plot to deliver up the castle of Carricfergus to the Scots, was instantly discovered, and the principal agent executed without mercy. The castle was reinforced; detachments were stationed in every place of danger; and magazines provided with arms and ammunition for ten thousand foot and one thousand horse.

THE king expressed the highest approbation of the conduct of lord Wentworth in his government, and no less satisfaction in the free, candid, and judicious advice, he frequently received from him relative to his own conduct. Yet the secret councils, by which this unhappy prince was too much influenced, were not without their effect even in Ireland, and created some embarrassment to the chief governor. Randal Mac-Donnel, earl of Antrim, was descended from those Scottish islanders who had settled in Ulster, and proved such pestilent insurgents in the reign of Elizabeth. On the submission of his family and their services to government, his father received a large tract of lands in the northern province, was created viscount Dunluce by king James, and by Charles advanced to the dignity of an earl. The young lord was bred in England; and by marrying with the duchess of Buckingham, dowager to the great favorite, appeared at court with some splendor, and

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Lett.

and seems to have rendered himself particularly acceptable to the queen. With a very moderate portion of understanding, and fully possessed with the importance of clanship and family power, he was naturally a great undertaker, as the noble historian expresses it, and solicitous, that the king should conceive highly of his power and interest in Ireland. He spake magnificently of the strength and attachment of his adherents in the northern province; of these he freely offered to levy and maintain a considerable army at his own expence, and to make a descent upon the Scottish isles, where he had also a numerous clan ready to assist him, where he made no doubt of effecting a lasting settlement, so as to give Argyle sufficient employment in his own country, and possibly to hem in the covenanters between an English and an Irish army.

THE project seemed plausible and well conceived; the king determined to send Antrim into Ireland; ^{Strat.} ^{Leu.} Antrim, flattered by the favorable acceptance of his services, talked openly of his vast designs, and thus warned Argyle to take the necessary precautions against invasion. But Wentworth cautiously weighed the circumstances of Ireland, the character of the undertaker, the nature and consequences of his design. The earl he knew was grandson by the female line to the famous rebel Tirone, connected in alliance and affection with those Irish clans of Ulster, which had formerly expressed, and were still supposed to retain an aversion to English government. Numbers of these could be easily raised, but not so easily paid and maintained; a necessitous rabble of armed followers, without discipline or restraint, might give material interruption to the public peace. At this time, it must prove a dangerous cause of offence, if the king should employ a popish army, commanded by a popish general. To the Scots of Ulster it might afford a plausible pretence of arming to defend themselves from outrage;

outrage; they might be ready to unite with the covenanters of Scotland, should they defeat their invaders, and pursue them into Ireland. Such considerations had their full weight with lord Wentworth; and to confirm his prejudice against the undertaking, he found, on his conference with Antrim, that the earl was totally ignorant of war, and that he had not once attended to the commonest provisions and precautions, necessary for any military operation. He represented these matters to the king and his ministers; he urged his objections both to the man and his design freely and fully; yet such was the possession which the queen and her partizans had gained of Charles, that he was persuaded repeatedly to direct, and even solicit the lord deputy, that Antrim should be employed. Preparations were even made for his expedition; officers were appointed to assist him; an agent sent to practise with his friends and kinsmen, the MacDonalds of the isles, and a ship freighted with one thousand arms for their use. But it soon appeared that the earl of Antrim had not that extensive following which he boasted, either in Scotland, or Ireland; that he himself was not only vain, but insincere; had made a forward tender of services, which he conceived would not be needed or accepted; and was neither able nor disposed to perform his promises.

In the mean time the king's affairs grew more and more embarrassed. An injudicious and disreputable pacification with the Scots was followed by a disbanding of his army, and an ungracious dismissal of the gentry, who, at their own expence, had attended him in his expedition. The Scots, on the other hand, kept their troops in readiness to re-assemble at the shortest notice; they held a correspondence with some of the English nobility, and were encouraged to proceed in their opposition to the king. They continued to hold their sessions, they protested against the articles of pacification, they retained

retained the forts which they were bound to restore; refused to demolish others agreeably to the treaty; persecuted those who adhered to the king, made vigorous preparations for war, and even solicited the king of France for succours.

CHARLES now found his English dominions evidently threatened with an invasion, from an enemy obstinate and inflamed; and secretly, if not avowedly, favored by numbers of his English subjects. A new army was to be raised; his finances were totally exhausted, his reputation was impaired by his late concessions to the Scots; and even in his councils he had reason to suspect treachery. In this distressful situation, lord Wentworth was thought too necessary to the king's service to remain in Ireland. He was directed to commit the administration to two lords justices, and to repair to the king. He had frequently solicited Charles to justify him ^{Staff.} against the clamor of his enemies, and to blast ^{Lett.} their hopes of supplanting him in the royal favor by granting him some new honors. Charles had hitherto denied the request; but was now more condescending. He confirmed him in his present station, by the more honorable title of lord lieutenant of Ireland, advanced him to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and created him a knight of the garter.

The new earl of Strafford was now confessedly the first in confidence with the king, and supposed to be the great director of his measures; a situation which, in the present juncture, could not fail to expose him to odium and danger. He had formerly recommended to the king not to exasperate the Scots as they were his natural, though rebellious subjects; to be careful that hostilities should not begin on his part, but to wait until they should justify his arms, by commencing hostilities in some part of England. But now, when concessions were demanded, which Charles deemed repugnant to his conscience and his honor, when their hostile intentions were avowed,

and a war inevitable, he recommended more vigorous measures, and urged the necessity of firmly repelling, and effectually prosecuting the Scottish insurgents. They were provoked at this zeal, and breathed vengeance against the malignant enemy of their nation.

To raise a new army, money was absolutely necessary; and Strafford had the credit of advising his master to recur to the constitutional method of supply, by convening a parliament. The measure was of necessity embraced: but, to provide in some sort for the immediate occasions of the king, a loan was solicited from the peers and officers of state, to which Strafford liberally contributed; and the queen, by her agents, obtained considerable sums from the Roman catholics of England. To demonstrate still greater zeal for the royal service, the earl assured the king, that no inconsiderable resources might be found in Ireland; he recommended that a new parliament should be immediately summoned in this kingdom, where he was assured of obtaining large supplies: that the bounty of the Irish subjects would prove an useful example and incentive to an English house of commons, and enable the king to raise a gallant army in Ireland, ready to be transported into Scotland at his command, with fairer hopes of success than could possibly be grounded on the wild and futile project of the earl of Antrim. The scheme was eagerly adopted; and the indefatigable earl arrived at Dublin two days after the parliament had assembled, under the justices, lord Dillon and Sir Christopher Wandesford, master of the rolls.

A. D.
1640

THE popish party of Ireland, whatever were their grievances and complaints, by no means favored the cause of the covenanters, and, like their brethren of England, affected the most zealous loyalty and attachment to the king. The puritans were numerous, but not as yet encouraged by their friends in England to avow their discontents; nor freed from the terror of an haughty and rigorous

rigorous administration. Those, who by their stations or emoluments were particularly bound to the service of the crown, formed no inconsiderable party in the Irish parliament. The evils they were to avert, the advantages they expected, the fear of power, the consequence, assumed from being thought necessary to the king's affairs, all conspired, with some less interested motives, to produce an unusual unanimity in this assembly. Strafford represented the ungrateful return made by the Scots to the clemency of his royal master, in the late pacification, and recommended them to grant a supply adequate to his occasions. The commons even outran his wishes. They granted four entire subsidies, with Com. an elevated encomium on his majesty's goodness, in Journ. Ir. constituting the earl of Strafford lord lieutenant of A. D. Ireland, who had endeared himself to this kingdom 1640. by an upright administration of justice without partiality; by encreasing the revenue without grievance; by the benefits received or expected from his majesty's commission for remedy of defective titles, procured by his lordship; by the restoration of the church, the regulation of the army; by the vigorous support of law, the due punishment of its contemners, and a benevolent relief and redress of the oppressed and indigent.

THE zeal and affection of the Irish commons were not yet exhausted. The king, in a letter to the two houses, expressed his apprehensions, that, if the Scots did not submit, he should find it necessary to demand two additional subsidies: they declared, with equal unanimity, that they were ready to support his majesty in all his great occasions with their persons and estates, which they prayed their governor to represent to the king, that it might be recorded as an ordinance of parliament, and published as a testimony to the world, that, as the kingdom had the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they were desirous to be accounted the best of subjects.

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THE Irish lords quickly caught the same spirit of loyalty. At the motion of the earl of Ormond, it was resolved to congratulate the commons on their bountiful and chearful grant, to signify the lords' desire to join in their intended declaration, and to appoint a conference for settling some common form to be made the joint-act of both houses. But here the jealousy of privilege intervened. It was the sole right of the commons to grant money; and neither the right nor merit of granting was to be communicated to the upper house. They refused their concurrence in any common form. The lords, however, determined that their zeal and affection should be equally conspicuous. They published a separate declaration of their absolute attachment and devotion to the king, in substance the same with that of the commons.

THEY proceeded yet further in expressing their detestation of the Scottish disloyalty. Archibald Adair, a native of Scotland, had been tempted to conformity by the prospect of gain, and advanced to the bishopric of Killalla, a station little suited to his puritanic principles. The wretch was not so guarded or confirmed in his hypocrisy, as to suppress his indignation at a clergyman of his own country, who had written with severity against the Covenanters; he reproached him for *his* conduct, and was even provoked to justify *their* conduct, with a warmth and acrimony utterly indecent. The lords determined that no writ of summons should be vouchsafed to an avowed favorer of the covenant. It was even proposed to censure him still farther. But the rigor of administration rendered it unnecessary. The Scottish prelate was seized, fined, and formally deprived.

IN these favorable and affectionate dispositions both of lords and commons, Strafford had nothing more to do, but issue the necessary orders for levying the parliamentary grants, and raising and regulating a new army. The pressing occasions of the
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king required his immediate return to England. To Wandesford, his friend and deputy, the charge of raising the subsidies was committed: the affairs of the army were entrusted chiefly to the earl of Ormond. The new levies were raised with surprising expedition. Ireland afforded numbers of idle and able-bodied men: and the commissioners, appointed for assessing the subsidies, had authority to press them into the service. Clothing and provisions occasioned some delay: yet, before the king's English forces could meet at Berwick, the whole body of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse appeared at Carricfergus, their destined place of rendezvous, in gallant order and condition. Their officers were protestants, together with one thousand of the private men, who had been drafted from the old army; all the rest were of necessity Roman catholics, a circumstance sufficient to raise a violent clamor against the king and Strafford, who armed legions of popish ruffians, to glut their malice with the blood of the godly.

BUT, to the astonishment of those who had seen the late loyal dispositions of the Irish commons, who had relied on the liberality of their grants, and the zeal of their professions, the subsidies, by which this army was to be supported, were reluctantly and scantily supplied. A new spirit seemed to have suddenly actuated the subjects of Ireland. They, who had but just now devoted their lives and possessions to the service of the *best of kings*, grew cold, suspicious, and querulous; they complained of the grievous weight of those four subsidies, which they had declared was but the earnest of their beneficence; they objected to the rates of assessment, the same which had been used in the late parliament. A general combination was formed through the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money, until a new manner of taxation should be settled by the present parliament, or, in other words, until they should utterly annul and rescind the late money-bill, enacted with such remarkable zeal and unanimity.

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To account for this sudden change of sentiment and disposition, it is to be observed, that Charles had by this time convened his English parliament, experienced their aversion to supply his necessities, and suddenly dissolved them. The Irish subjects found, that an attachment to the king was unfashionable and unpopular in England; that favor and applause attended those, who were most violent and spirited in opposing his measures: and a passion for imitating the people of England has been ever known to have considerable influence on their politics. The puritan party, which every day grew more and more powerful and confident, held a freer correspondence with their brethren of Ireland, and laboured to attach them to the common cause. The vigilant chief governor was absent; and, to encrease the confidence of his secret enemies in Ireland, reports were industriously spread of his dangerous sickness, and his death. Popish agents were assiduous in encouraging their party to seize the favorable opportunity of forcing some attention and indulgence to their claims, civil and religious. Puritans and recusants alike, freed from the restraint of that administration which had kept both in awe, and encouraged by those disorders which had already grown formidable in Britain, and threatened to flame out with still greater violence, formed a determined and regular scheme of opposition.

SUCH was the temper of the Irish parliament on their second meeting. The principal lords and officers of state were, many of them, puritanically disposed. In the old mode of voluntary contribution, they had contrived to shift the public burden on their inferiors; but in the assessment of the parliamentary grants, they had been rated in proportion to their superior fortunes: and therefore in the midst of all their affected solicitude for the king's service, were really enemies to the new taxation. Several absented themselves from parliament, on whose services the crown relied. Those military
members,

members, who were destined to keep the balance between the popish and puritan parties, were now necessarily at their respective posts. These parties, therefore, had full liberty to exert themselves, and by forming a kind of union of political sentiments and dispositions, bore down irresistibly upon a feeble government.

SEVERAL conciliating and popular bills had been transmitted, and recommended from the throne; Carte. among others readily accepted, one was enacted for confirmation of letters patent, granted on any commissions of grace for remedy of defective titles; an act much magnified, and said to be worth many millions to the subject. But the commons were not to be allured from their present favorite object. Grievances had been the popular topic in the English legislature; and the clamor of grievances was faithfully echoed in Ireland. The Irish commons had as yet no leisure to examine into those several particulars, in which the regular course of law had been interrupted, and the nation governed with an arbitrary sway. They fixed at once upon a grievance of an inferior nature, but such as was striking and obvious, and equally offensive to each of the prevailing parties. They inveighed against the conduct of the ecclesiastical courts, their fees, their Comm. Jour. 1640. commutation-money, the demands of the established clergy for christenings, marriages, herse-clothes, mortuaries, and other claims introduced in times of popery, and as yet not sufficiently regulated and reformed. They presented a bold remonstrance to the lord deputy Wandesford on this subject; and they were too formidable, and their demands in general too reasonable, to meet with any discouragement.

BUT their attack was not confined to the income of the clergy. A committee, was appointed to consider of the manner in which the subsidies should be assessed. On their report, a declaration was drawn up, against any ascertaining of subsidies, condemning the instructions issued by the deputy and council

cil for raising the first subsidy, expressing their apprehensions, lest these instructions should be deemed the continuance of a precedent established in a former parliament, and protesting, that neither this precedent, nor the late instructions should be regarded as a direction or warrant for any future assessments. In compliment to the deputy, and regard to the king's weighty occasions, they indeed appoint the first subsidy to be levied agreeably to the instructions, but declare that the three others, and all future subsidies, shall be raised in what they call a moderate and parliamentary way. The declaration was ordered to be entered among the ordinances of their house, and copies furnished to all who should desire them. They even had the courage to demand, and the success to prevail on Wandesford, to direct that it should be enrolled in the council-books, the court of chancery, the offices of the auditor general, and of the chief remembrancer.

Carte.

In this zeal for reformation, they forgot their own privileges, and the solicitude they had lately expressed for preserving them. They became suitors to the lords to unite in their favorite declaration, and to enter it as an ordinance of their house. But the lords were now fearful of the least interference in matters relative to the granting money. They consulted the judges: the judges declared, that an ordinance of the commons, respecting the assessment of subsidies, could not of right be entered in their journals. The answer, therefore, to the commons, was, that they had taken time until the next session to consider, whether their declaration should be entered in the journals of the upper house, or not.

BUT while the commons affected all this regard for the ease of the subjects, this patriotic opposition to exorbitant and oppressive grants (nor can it be denied that they were exorbitant and oppressive, when we are assured that one year's assessment on the earl of Cork amounted to three thousand six hundred

dred pounds) they at the same time felt considerable embarrassment from recollection of their former zealous concessions and declarations: nor could the partizans of government fail to urge them with the shame of inconsistency, a charge so obvious, and at the same time so mortifying. To efface this reproach, and "to the end," as they expressed it, "that no ill-affected persons, in envy to their loyal
 "and chearful proceedings to his majesty, might ^{Com. Journ.}
 "spread any false rumours, as though they had not ^{V. I.}
 "a continued resolution to further his majesty's ser- ^{P. 254.}
 "vice," they entered a second ordinance in their Journals, whereby they declared to the world, that, "by nothing contained in their late declaration, it was intended to vary from any of their former chearful expressions used in the beginning of the parliament, for the furtherance of his majesty's service against the present distemper in Scotland."

SUCH formal professions of attachment were but a weak apology for whatever seemed exceptionable in their conduct. They shewed that the Irish parliament had studied the example of those in England, and learned to convey the most determined opposition in terms of apparent duty and loyalty. Strafford was the only man likely to check this rising spirit. It was resolved that he should immediately resume the reins of Irish government. He was made captain-general of all the Irish forces, with power to lead them into Scotland. He transmitted the ^{Carte.} orders necessary for this expedition; he directed the earl of Ormond to repair to Carricfergus, and to put himself at the head of the forces; preparations were made for his own voyage; when, on the illness of the earl of Northumberland, Charles found it necessary to detain him in England, in order to lead his army against the Scots, as his lieutenant-general. Strafford, who sincerely studied the honour and interest of his master, was solicitous for employing the Irish army; and even when the Scots had seized Newcastle, wished to trans-

port it into Cumberland, so as to cut off their communication with their own country. But as these insurgents had particularly excepted against him, he deemed it imprudent to encrease their rancour, by proposing this measure directly to the king. The unhappy Charles adopted other counsels, and other measures. The treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded in London, was followed by a cessation of arms, highly acceptable to those who favored the Scots, and avowed their dissatisfaction at marching to fight for prelacy. They, who petitioned for this cessation, and for summoning a new parliament, at the same time expressed their abhorrence and apprehensions of the popish army raised in Ireland. Orders were transmitted for disbanding it; but these orders could not be immediately executed. Money was wanting to discharge the arrears of the soldiers.

IN the mean time the commons of Ireland, in their succeeding session, assembled with passions still more violent and undisguised, and with a more settled and systematic scheme of opposition. The puritans, encouraged secretly by their friends in England, and animated by the example of the Scots, the recusants, smarting with the remembrance of their mortifications, and grievances real or pretended, those, who had experienced the severity of the administration of Strafford, who were impatient to revive the pomp of popery, or to establish the rueful simplicity of the presbyterian model, who had adopted the present popular sentiments of civil liberty, or been infected by the contagion of factious turbulence, all united in the scheme of opposition to the king; and had all imbibed the fashionable inveteracy against their chief governor.

THEY began with complaints against those very acts, which he had procured for reforming and civilizing the nation. Such were the laws which enjoined the general use of English apparel, which forbade ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the
straw,

straw, or tearing wool from living sheep. The lords were prevailed on to concur in a representation of the accidental grievances attending the execution of such statutes. And so little were the most obvious principles of liberty regarded, in the violence of faction, that the deputy was moved to exercise a dispensing power, and to suspend the penalties annexed to these laws.

THE commons, who every day grew more confident in their own strength, proceeded to explain distinctly their declaration of the former session, relative to the assessment of subsidies. They resolved, that no subject should be taxed for more than a tenth part of his estate, real or personal; which they called a moderate, parliamentary, easy, and equal rate. This resolution they entered as the order of the house, and the rule by which the three subsequent subsidies should be assessed. "Shame," saith Mr. Carte, "is a great restraint from ills of a scandalous kind; but it affects only particular persons: it never enters into bodies of men." The sentiment is refuted by the conduct of this house of commons. They still retained a painful recollection of their former professions of loyalty. They knew that, by their present resolution, three of the subsidies were reduced to a sum scarcely worth collecting; and, amidst all their present violence, not yet divested of shame, they affected a serious attention to the king's manifold and urgent occasions; and, as it might conduce to the advancement of his service to hasten the payment of the third subsidy, they ordered that it should be paid together with the second, on the first day of December, 1640, six months earlier than it had been made payable by the original grant. But such ridiculous affectation served only to provoke, instead of reconciling the king to an unprecedented order, made only by the commons, revoking their own grant, in opposition to a statute enacted by the whole legislature, and a legislature still in being. With a peevish impatience

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ence at this insolent procedure; he ordered the leaf, in which their resolution was inserted, to be torn from their Journals.

THE commons were not to be intimidated by this ungracious and irregular exertion of royal power, They had friends and partizans in England, who observed their dispositions with pleasure, and cherished that spirit, which promised to advance their own present purposes. The ruin of the earl of Strafford was the favorite object of the popular party. He was already accused; measures were concerted for supporting the accusation; Ireland was the scene where this obnoxious nobleman had been principally distinguished; his prosecutors therefore naturally looked to this kingdom. Here they found a numerous party ready to second their designs, and eager to receive their instructions for this purpose. A remonstrance of grievances sustained by the Irish subjects during the administration of the earl, was hastily prepared, and presented to the house of commons. It began with an acknowledgment, that, since the happy subjection of the kingdom to the imperial crown of England, it had been the princely care of his majesty and his noble progenitors, that their dutiful people of the land of Ireland, being now for the most part descended of British ancestors, should be governed according to the laws of England; that the statute of Magna Charta, and other laudable statutes, were by several Irish parliaments enacted and declared, whereby the kingdom hath, until of late, grown to a flourishing state, and been enabled to comply with his majesty's occasions, by repeated benevolences and subsidies. The late grievances were enumerated, by which the kingdom was said to be reduced to extreme and universal poverty.—The general decay of trade, occasioned by a new and illegal raising the book of rates and impositions.—The arbitrary decisions of causes and controversies by paper petitions before the chief governor, and the proceedings in civil causes

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causes at the council board, contrary to the law and great charter.—The denial of the princely graces, and statute of limitations granted by his majesty, together with the extrajudicial avoiding of letters patent of estates, by private opinions delivered at the council board, contrary to law, and without precedent or example. The unusual and unlawful encrease of monopolies, especially of tobacco. The extreme and cruel usage of the inhabitants and tenants of the plantation of London-Derry. The erection and proceedings of the court of high commission for causes ecclesiastical; and the exorbitant fees and customs exacted by the clergy. The misapplication of the revenue. The restraint laid on men of quality and estates from repairing to England without licence of the chief governor. Quo warrantos issued against boroughs. The unconstitutional influence of certain ministers of state, by which the parliament was deprived of its natural freedom. Exorbitant fees taken in courts of justice. Extrême pressures laid on merchants and other subjects to the enriching of farmers of customs, waiters, searchers, pursuivants, goalers, and sundry others.

HAD the several articles of this remonstrance received a distinct and temperate discussion, many might have proved groundless or vague, and many by no means chargeable to the chief governor, at whom they were pointed. But the proceeding on this occasion discovered more of zeal than candor. It was presented abruptly to the house; required to be twice read; no objection was admitted; no member allowed to speak to it; no question was put upon the separate articles; but all the several particulars collected into one question, and all voted to be grievances, in the midst of tumult and disorder. The remonstrance concluded with a petition to the lord deputy, that, if he should not think fit to afford relief, he would admit a select committee of the commons to repair to the king in England, in order to obtain fitting remedies for their just grievances

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ances and oppressions. Before an answer could be obtained, the commons proceeded to nominate this committee. Wandesford, the lord deputy, was perplexed and intimidated: he made a faint attempt to evade an answer to their remonstrance, by recommending a conference with a committee of the lords on the articles contained in it. The commons had already experienced the temper of the upper house, which had originally refused to concur with them in their application; they rejected the overture with disdain; and while their committee, composed of virulent papist and rigid puritans, prepared to embark secretly for England, and their agents John Bellew and Oliver Cashel, were on their way to London, the deputy was left to the usual method of prorogation, to give some check to the spirit of the Irish commons.

Carte.

In the mean time, the Irish committee were received in London with particular favor by the popular party, who expected considerable assistance from them, in the great design now in agitation, that of the destruction of the earl of Strafford. Their public instructions were to address themselves to the king; but they seem to have been privately directed to apply to a power greater than the king's, that of the English house of commons. To prepare the way for their favorable reception, Mr. Pym, with the assistance of Sir John Clotworthy, a gentleman of Ireland, whose attachment to the popular party, and enmity to the earl of Strafford, had gained him a seat in the English parliament, obtained a committee to take into consideration the grievances of Ireland. To this committee the agents readily communicated their remonstrance, which, with a petition from several of the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Irish parliament, was presented to the house.

Thus was the first alarm of danger conveyed to the earl of Strafford. Contrary to his own sentiments, and the urgent admonitions of his friends, he.

he fatally relied on the king's promise of protection, he repaired to London, and resigned himself to the power of an incensed parliament. To deprive him of the services of an able and faithful friend, whose evidence must have proved essentially favourable to his cause, Sir George Ratcliffe was accused of high treason, and conveyed a prisoner from Ireland. The earl himself was impeached, sequestered from parliament and committed to custody. His numerous enemies of the three kingdoms were raised to the utmost pitch of exultation, and waited with impatience the event of this bold and well concerted attack.

THE sudden death of Wandesford, lord deputy ^{Carla.} of Ireland, is imputed to the violent impression on his mind, made by the prosecution of Strafford, and the vexations of his government. It was an event attended with momentous consequences to this kingdom : for the present, it afforded the Irish committee, resident in London, a fair occasion of proving and displayed their power. Soon after the prorogation of the Irish parliament, they were joined by some lords of Ireland, not delegated by the upper house, but by a number of the Irish nobility, most unfriendly to Strafford, and directed to unite with the agents of the commons, in representing the grievances of the nation. The popular leaders in the English parliament were not scrupulous to examine the validity of their commission. They received them with open arms ; and industriously affected the utmost deference and attention to the delegates of both houses of the Irish legislature, who came to explain the injuries of their nation, and to prove the iniquity of their chief governor. Such was the consequence they had gained, that the king himself deemed it necessary to court them, and laboured to soften their resentments against his favourite by some incautious condescensions.

THE appointment of a successor to Wandesford ^{Ibid.} became an immediate object of deliberation. The earl of Strafford, who knew the circumstances of Ireland, and sincerely studied the interests of the king,

king, recommended with particular earnestness, that the earl of Ormond should be nominated, lord deputy; a nobleman of vigor and abilities, of powerful connections, zealous in the royal cause, an enemy both to the Romish and puritan factions, and already successful in opposing the violences of both. But the Irish committee, in the fulness of pride and power, had the hardiness to remonstrate against this nomination, and, by the assistance of the earl of Arundel, (who claimed some lands of which Ormond was possessed, and hence became his mortal enemy) were so successful, that the king relinquished the design of employing the earl of Ormond, and declared his resolution of committing the Irish government to two lords justices, equally chosen for the contending parties, lord Dillon of Kilkenny-west a nobleman of approved affection to the royal service, and Sir William Parsons, distinguished for his attachment to the popular and puritanic faction.

But the Irish committee were too well instructed, and had imbibed the spirit of the times too deeply not to take advantage of this condescension, and to press the king with new demands. They proceeded to remonstrate against lord Dillon as a person unfit to be entrusted with the administration of Irish government. Charles listened to their frivolous objections. With an impatience to be relieved from a contest of an inferior nature, and which interrupted his attention to matters more urgent and important, he revoked the nomination of lord Dillon, and abandoned the government of Ireland to Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, two puritan lords justices without abilities or character, and full fraught with that party virulence which is readily imbibed by men of mean understandings and illiberal principles.

In proportion to the king's concessions, the committee rose in their demands. And Charles, having already stooped to such extraordinary condescensions, felt less reluctance in granting their addition-

al requests. He consented to send orders to Ireland, that they should not be prosecuted for departing without licence; that the leaf which had been torn from the Journals of the Irish commons, should be replaced; that the subsidies should be assessed in the manner prescribed by their house; that all the king's correspondence with his ministers of Ireland should be entered in the signet office, open to be inspected or copied, by every subject; and that all those, who complained of any order or decree, should have copies of records, certificates or orders of council, public letters, or other entries necessary for declaration of their grievances.

HAVING thus far experienced the compliance of Carte. the king, they at length presented their remonstrance in due form. An answer prepared by Sir George Ratchliffe, was soon after read in council; and a copy delivered to the committee. They were alarmed; they protested against the king's consulting on their affairs either with the earl of Strafford, Ratchliffe, or Sir Philip Mainwaring, another of his zealous friends. They were called to make their reply; the discussion of particulars was difficult and hazardous; they agreed to entrench themselves in a general declaration of the sense of the Irish house of commons, concerning the grievances alleged. It was prepared; Strafford, on this part, solicited a commission of enquiry into every particular of their remonstrance, severally and distinctly: the committee were not without their apprehensions of such a discussion; they declined presenting their declaration to the king.

THE Irish parliament in the mean time assembled, and with spirits still more elevated. That formidable power which the ruling party in the English legislature had acquired by firmness and perseverance, that applause and popularity which attended their proceedings, the embarrassment of the king's affairs, the weakness and dejection of his party, the atten-

tion shewn to the Irish committee, and the surprising success of their applications to the throne, were all powerful incentives to the Irish houses, to exert themselves vigorously on an occasion so favourable to the popular interest. Not contented with demanding a redress of former grievances, they aspired, in imitation of their neighbours, to new privileges, new advantages and securities. Having provided for the support of their agents in London, by a public assessment, they proceeded to instruct them to apply to the throne for new laws and regulations, calculated to encrease their own power no less than to advance the public interest. Among other particulars, they were directed to move his majesty for a bill for the further explanation of Poyning's law, in such parts as had occasioned any doubts of the manner of certifying bills into England, or any other matter concerning the further explanation of the law, which they shall think fit: and, that the house of commons, during the parliament, may draw up bills by their own committee, and transmit them.

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In all their endeavours for reformation, it was their purpose (and it was a purpose particularly acceptable to their friends in England) to represent the earl of Strafford as the great author of all national grievances. But in the preamble to the bill of subsidies in their first session, a magnificent encomium had been bestowed on this chief governor and his administration. It was the united and unanimous declaration of both houses, attended with expressions of uncommon satisfaction and attachment. The transaction was too remarkable and too recent to be forgotten. To evade its force, and obviate the difficulty it might create to the prosecutors of this earl, they now inveighed against the secret contrivers of this clause; they enquired, with an affected wonder and indignation, into the authors of it; they drew up a protestation to be transmitted to their committee, in which they declared that, it had been surreptiti-

reptitiously inserted in their bill, either by the earl of Strafford or his agents; that, constrained by representations of the king's necessities, they had not opposed the fraud, lest his majesty should suffer by a rejection of the bill thus sophisticated; that the matter of this preamble was entirely false; and that the nation had really been oppressed and impoverished by the administration of the earl. The committee were directed to petition his majesty for a bill to erase this preamble from their records; and that neither the earl nor his ministers or advisers might have any share in conducting the affairs of Ireland. The upper house were prevailed on to join in this protestation, notwithstanding the opposition of Ormond, Digby, and other zealous royalists.

THE lords had by this time caught the spirit of ^{Jour. of} the other house, and adopted all the sentiments and ^{II. of} passions of the popular party. They nominated the ^{Lords} peers, already resident in London, a committee of ^{MS Trin.} their house, for the purpose of conveying their griev- ^{Col. Dub.} ^{Carta.} ances to the throne, adding another of their body to the number. A catalogue of those grievances was prepared and presented to the lords. It consisted of eighteen articles; wherein they complained that the nobility were over-rated in the subsidies, some of them detained in prison, though not impeached of any capital offence, and none allowed to be absent from the house, without leaving a proxy with some lord of the chief governor's nomination; that noblemen voted in their house in consequence of new titles of honor, without possessing any lands or property in the kingdom; that they could not, without special licence, repair to England, to present their petitions to the throne. In other articles they echoed the remonstrance of the commons; such were their complaints of the grievous discouragement of trade by heavy impositions, of monopolies, of the decision of civil causes and vacating letters patent by extrajudicial opinions, at the council board; the benefits of the act of limitation denied to the subjects, the uncon-

unconstitutional influence of ministers in parliament. Others were added in the form of petitions to the throne, that sundry of the graces, granted in the fourth year of the king's reign, might pass into acts of parliament; that a general pardon might be granted, unincumbered by captious provisoes; and that the nobility of the kingdom might be preferred, in all promotions to offices of trust and honor.

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THESE several articles engaged the peers in a long and accurate discussion; nor was it without considerable opposition that they at length received the sanction of their house. At a time when the popular clamour was so violent against prelacy; and that there was a general inclination, and even a concerted design to deprive bishops of the right of suffrage in parliament, a bishop of Meath was so incautious as to move, that in the resolution of these grievances the name of the lords spiritual might be omitted, as they had unanimously declared against it. In England the proposition would possibly have been received with eagerness and applause. In Ireland the enemies of the hierarchy were not so powerful or inveterate. The judges declared that the act of the majority must be considered as the act of all the orders which composed the house of peers. The motion was rejected without any consequences; and the representation of grievances transmitted in due form to the lords of the committee, to be by them presented to the throne.

Ibid.

THEY had soon occasion to enlarge their instructions. The English commons were now considered as the centre of authority and power. Not only national grievances, but those of private persons, were referred to their tribunal; and from Ireland particularly, numbers of petitioners beset their house, praying relief against the decisions of the king's courts. One of those appellants complained of a sentence given in favor of a bishop of Ardagh, with whom he had a suit. The commons, not displeased to mortify a prelate, summoned the bishop to appear

appear before them. He applied to the Irish house of lords for direction; the lords resented the infringement of their privileges; Lenthall, the English speaker, was informed that they did not think it fit to license the bishop's departure into England, and "that they were confident the house of commons in England would not proceed to any determination of a cause in which a member of their house was concerned, but rather remit the same to the parliament of Ireland." Not contented with opposing the attempt of the English commons in this particular instance, the lords resolved, that "being informed that some members and attendants of their house have been summoned to appear in the parliament of England, and before committees of the house of commons, upon private men's suits, and their estates also there questioned; and having duly considered thereof, and the evil consequences which may arise thereby—the committee of the house now attending the king be ordered to represent the same to his majesty, and become humble suitors unto him for preventing the like hereafter."

THE commons at the same time were engaged with still greater warmth on objects more important than their own privileges. The time was favorable to reformation; and every attempt to establish the rights of subjects, was received with popular applause. They critically examined into various instances of illegal practices during the administration of the earl of Strafford, and severely censured every deviation from the exact line of constitutional liberty, to which he had been encouraged by the practice of former governors, or hurried by his own passions. To condemn them with the greater solemnity, the house formed a number of questions to be considered and decided by the judges, relative to the power and authority of the chief governor and privy council, in hearing and determining civil causes, the legality of monopolies, and of the punishments inflicted

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inflicted on those who infringed them; the legal force of proclamations, or acts of state; the execution of martial law in time of peace; the jurisdiction of the exchequer, castle chamber, and other courts; the collation and powers of deans and other dignitaries; the censures and severe punishments of jurors; the legality of quo warranto, and other articles of grievance.

THEIR questions were presented to the upper house, with the following spirited declaration. "Inasmuch as the subjects of this kingdom are free, loyal, and dutiful subjects to his most excellent majesty, their natural liege lord and king, and to be governed only by the common laws of England and statutes in force in this kingdom, in the same manner and form as his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England are, and ought to be governed by the same common laws and statutes of force in that kingdom, which of right the subjects of this kingdom do challenge, and make their protestation to be their birth-right and best inheritance; yet inasmuch as the unlawful actions and proceedings of some of his majesty's officers and ministers of justice, of late years introduced and practised in this kingdom, did tend to the infringing and violation of the laws, liberties, and freedom of the said subjects of this kingdom, contrary to his majesty's royal and pious intentions: therefore the knights, citizens, and burgesses in parliament assembled, not for any doubt or ambiguity which may be conceived or thought of, for, or concerning the premises, nor of the ensuing questions, for manifestation and declaration of a clear truth, and of the said laws and statutes already planted, and for many ages past settled in this kingdom, the said knights, citizens, and burgesses do therefore pray that the house of lords may be pleased to command the judges of this kingdom, forthwith to declare in writing their resolutions of, and unto the ensuing questions, and subscribe the same."

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the lords were moved, and consented to add one question more to those of the commons, yet they discovered no great alacrity in referring them to the judges. The earl of Ormond in particular was zealous for prerogative, attached to lord Strafford, and alarmed at the violence of the commons. He took advantage of a matter of privilege, in dispute between the houses, to suspend the consideration of the queries. The judges desired time to consider them; he urged the propriety of their request. He prevailed on the lords to resolve, that the judges should not be compelled to answer such of the queries as concerned his majesty's prerogative, or were contrary to their oath of office; and that they should have time till Easter term to give answer to the rest. The commons, who looked for a speedy prorogation, were impatient, and offended at this coldness of the lords. Instead of being embarrassed at their affected delay, they seized the advantage of it to add to the odium of the earl of Strafford. They transmitted the queries to their committee in England, directing them to be presented with all convenient speed to the parliament Com. Journ. V. I. p. 341. of England, and praying that they should make a declaration of the law in the several particulars contained in these queries.

THE Irish committee was flattered and caressed by the popular leaders, as useful agents in their prosecution of lord Strafford, and a necessary channel for conveying their instructions to his enemies of the Irish legislature. This body had adopted the passions of the English house, and seemed to glory in imitating their procedure. Whether in the ferment of their own zeal, or in compliance with instructions received from England, the commons proceeded to an impeachment of Sir Richard Bolton the chancellor, doctor Bramhal bishop of Derry, Sir Gerrard Lowther chief justice of the common pleas, and Sir George Radcliffe, men of known attachment to the earl of Strafford; the last already accused

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cused by the commons of England, and rendered incapable of giving evidence in favor of his friend. To reduce the others to a like incapacity, the charge of high treason was prosecuted against them with the utmost vigor. Audley Mervyn, an active puritan, appeared at the bar of the upper house; and with an harangue of tedious pomp and futility, introduced the articles of high treason prepared by the commons. They charged Bolton, Bramhal, Lowther, and Radcliffe, with traitorously contriving and exercising an illegal and tyrannical government in Ireland, by the countenance and assistance of Thomas earl of Strafford; assuming a regal power over the properties, persons, and liberties of the subjects, pronouncing unjust decrees, and extrajudicial opinions, and illegally and traitorously ruining his majesty's liege people by infamous and cruel punishments; and lastly, with subverting the rights of parliament, and the antient course of parliamentary proceedings. They prayed that all might be obliged to answer to the charges, and that those now in the upper house might be sequestered from their places of judicature, and from the council board, and committed to close custody.

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A VAGUE and general charge, however conformable to the proceedings in England against the earl of Strafford, was not universally well received in the house of lords. A variety of questions and points of difficulty were suggested, little suited to the impetuosity of the commons and their friends. Whether the speaker of the lords could be sequestered and committed without a dissolution of their house; whether he or the other persons impeached might be admitted to bail; whether it were sufficient that the house be answerable for their speaker, as no particular charge had as yet been exhibited; whether the lord chancellor could be committed while the seals were in his custody? Such were the questions long and violently agitated

tated in the lords. The commons were impatient, and even clamorous, for a full compliance with their demand. It was at length resolved, that Bramhal and Lowther should be confined; and that the lords justices should be informed that the house held it also meet that the chancellor should be committed to custody, and therefore requested that their lordships might appoint some other person for their speaker. They were answered, that the chancellor and chief justice were at this time peculiarly necessary at the council board, and that the lords justices wished the house would entrust them with the disposal of these persons; that their desire of a new speaker should be transmitted to the king, and that they desired a message from the house to bail the parties accused, if their lordships saw cause. The lords complied; and the contest between the houses was for the present suspended by a prorogation.

BUT the discontented party soon enjoyed a consummate triumph, in the trial of the earl of Strafford, and the act of attainder passed against this unhappy lord. This important transaction is too well known to need any new detail; especially as the most obnoxious particulars of his Irish administration have been already pointed out. Instead of discussing the several articles of accusation which his Irish enemies supplied, in which the malice of his prosecutors was sometimes too conspicuous, but in which the most candid and indulgent must discover his pride, insolence, and tyranny, it seems more pertinent to the present design to trace the effects of this great event on Ireland.

To have been discountenanced, displaced, or treated with any severity by the earl of Strafford was now considered as the highest merit, and most effectual recommendation to honours and employments. Sir Piers Crosby, his accuser, was restored to his place in council. Archibald Adair, the wretched Scottish prelate, who had been deprived of the see of Killalla for his declarations in favour

of the covenant, was recommended by a puritanic government to the bishopric of Waterford. The lords justices cautiously declined to hear any suits, or to decide any causes in council; terrified by the remonstrances against paper petitions, as they were called. The high commission, and the presidential courts of Munster and Connaught, were afraid to exercise their wonted jurisdiction. The judges in the law courts were terrified; and a scrupulous adherence to the exact line of law and constitutional liberty, had a different effect in Ireland from what might be expected from the theory of politics: here it served to render the administration contemptible to a people who had been used to a government of rigour and severity.

SOME particular members in both houses of the Irish parliament had already entertained deep and dangerous designs, not yet discovered, nor perhaps sufficiently matured. But the coalition of puritan and popish partizans was made for no other purpose, nor can their party be suspected of any other design, but that of seizing the advantage of the confusions in England, the fall of Strafford, and the embarrassments of the crown, to aggrandize their own power, and to extort some concessions from the king, favourable to their interests. Every step towards the ruin of lord Strafford encreased the confidence of the Irish committees still resident in London. They repeatedly solicited the king to grant an answer to the remonstrances of the Irish parliament, and to redress the grievances which had been conveyed to the throne. Charles, in his humiliation, at length consented that they should be considered in the privy council; and to most of the articles gave a favourable answer. He consented that the assessment of the nobility should be moderated; he agreed to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament; to deprive those peers of their votes who should not purchase estates
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in Ireland within a limited time; to allow all Irish subjects to repair to any part of his dominions without restraint; to prohibit the chief governors and council from deciding property, or avoiding letters patent; to revoke monopolies; to suspend the high commission court; to refer the demands of the clergy to the Irish council, in order to frame an act for an equitable regulation of their claims and courts. In like manner he consented that the GRACES should be considered by the lords justices and council, and a bill prepared for the establishment of such as appeared most conducive to the interests of the kingdom. Such condescension did he discover to their passions, that he even promised to pass an act for repeal of the preamble in the bill of subsidies, relative to lord Strafford. He agreed to reform the abuses of quo warrantos, and to restrain the execution of martial law. In these, and some other less material articles, his council recommended a compliance. A few points of their petition were rejected; and in particular he refused to consent that any part of the law of Poynings should be repealed.

BUT his concessions were not satisfactory to the committee. Instead of depending on the royal favor, they demanded the security of a legal and formal declaration of the rights they claimed; the powers which Charles promised not to exercise, they required to be utterly annulled; and with respect to Poynings' law, they contended that this law did not preclude the two houses of parliament from concurring with the council in preparing and transmitting bills. Replies, explanations, dispatches sent to Ireland, and answers from the council of this kingdom, were attended with inconvenient delay. The time to which the Irish parliament had been prorogued was already elapsed, before the king's order for a further prorogation had been received. It was necessary, by a short bill, to declare the legal continuance of this assembly, and to render their pre-

proceedings valid; and for this purpose the king's letter was transmitted. It was equally necessary by ~~some~~ act of favor to conciliate the Irish houses, and to allay that violence which they had discovered in the former session. Without waiting the proceedings of the Irish committee, Charles addressed a letter to the lords justices, declaring his pleasure that the Irish subjects should enjoy the benefit of all his GRACES, and directing that bills should be transmitted for establishing some more material articles, especially for securing their estates, for limiting the crown's title to sixty years, for annulling all proceedings against the proprietors of Connaught, which had been attended with popular odium and clamour, and for securing the estates of this province from all claims of the crown.

FORMAL thanks were returned to the throne; but in expressing these thanks, both lords and commons shewed that they were still firm and determined. They prayed that ALL the GRACES should be established by law; and that the present parliament should not be prorogued or dissolved, until laws were prepared for the establishment of all, and the redress of every grievance. And the proceedings of parliament corresponded with this beginning. The impeachments of the last session had produced a question of such importance as justified the vehemence expressed on that occasion. The chancellor, in answering the charge against him, had insinuated a doubt, whether, since the enacting of Poyning's law, the house of lords had power of judicature in capital cases. The suggestion was received not without resentment and indignation; and, among the first proceedings of the present session, we find both houses joining in a solemn protestation, that the court of parliament ever was and is the supreme judicatory of the realm, and always had and ought to have full authority to determine in cases of treason and other offences. This protestation they communicated to the king; but by presenting

senting it also to the English house of lords, they appealed to a tribunal not so favorable as they expected. The question was seriously debated both in that house and in the English council, and the king persuaded to suspend the acts of grace and favor to his Irish subjects, until this weighty point should be determined. The subsequent disorders in both kingdoms seem to have prevented the formal determination.

THE Irish house of commons, in the mean time, ^{Com.} acted with that violent spirit of reformation, which ^{Journ.} the example of their neighbours had inspired. By ^{1641.} a solemn declaration they asserted their ancient right of repairing at all times to his majesty, by their agents, without the intervention of a chief governor. The proclamations for regulating linen yarn, however judiciously devised for improving this manufacture, were yet the acts of lord Strafford's government, and were now declared grievances by the house. The high commission court they pronounced a great and universal grievance, tending to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Not satisfied with the restraints of martial law prescribed by the king, they resolved to limit the execution of it, even in times of war and rebellion. Every questionable demand of the clergy was at once pronounced a grievance, and this, with such severity, that their maintenance was rendered precarious; so that the house was afterwards obliged to qualify the rigor of their former resolutions.

AN assembly, which scorned the limits of its own ^{Ibid.} constitutional privileges, which assumed a power of deciding property, and controlling the courts of law, found a convenient object of arbitrary power in the established clergy, a body equally obnoxious to the popish and puritanic leaders. A furious zeal for particular modes and systems, had in these days the same effect which hath since been experienced from a profligate indifference to religion.

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Not contented with rescinding decrees made in favor of the clergy, and involving particulars of this order in vexatious difficulties, the house proceeded to strike at the very vitals of the religious establishment, by harassing the university. The regulations established in this seminary by archbishop Laud, excluded non-conformists of every kind from its advantages and preferments. The house examined them with severity; discovered dangers never experienced, and suggested objections which time hath abundantly confuted. So earnest were the prevailing factions to condemn the late statutes, that the committee of the commons appointed to inspect the college, accepted the grossest misinformations and disgraced their report by palpable falsehoods. From a clause in one statute not rightly understood, they were persuaded that every member of the college was prevented from divulging the grievances or misgovernment of the society to any but the governors, under pain of expulsion. They exclaimed against the supposed prohibition as an infamous contrivance to conceal and suppress the truth: and it was voted null and void. They accused the late provost, by this time advanced to the bishoprics of Cork and Ross, of clandestinely accepting the new body of statutes, with the concurrence of two members only of the body; a fact evidently false, and easy to be disproved: his government, his procuring the new charter, his acceptance of the new regulations, were voted subversive of the antient foundation, and a grievous discouragement to natives of the kingdom, before this charter was inspected, or these regulations, weighed. They proceeded to a frivolous impeachment of the bishop in the house of lords, and soon found it impossible to be supported. In the plenitude of their power they forbade any elections to be held, or any leases executed, in the college, until the house of commons should give further orders therein; and, to complete the triumph over royal prerogative, the committee was empowered to inspect the old and
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new statutes, and to make such a compilation of laws from both, as they should judge necessary for the government of the college. In the next session, which was to complete this scheme of reformation, public disorders became too violent to admit of any attention to the government of a college.

WE may naturally expect to find an house of ^{Com.} commons of so inflamed a spirit, resuming the con-^{Journ.} sideration of those queries which were to ascertain 1641. the constitutional rights of the Irish subjects, and proceeding on those impeachments which were to punish the violations of these rights. The first were indeed resumed with particular ardour; and the judges were again demanded to give explicit answers to the several questions proposed. They represented the hardships imposed on them of pronouncing extrajudicial opinions, on points already decided by the commons, already transmitted to the king as grievances, and before the sentence of his majesty could be known; on questions too general; on points which concerned the high courts of the kingdom, and which judges of inferior courts could not decide without the royal licence. They expressed their apprehensions of being censured or impeached, should their answers prove not exactly consonant to the declared sentiments of the commons. They were however commanded to answer the queries, so far as might consist with the duties of their station, and a just attention to the royal prerogative. Their answers were temperate and guarded: the commons voted them unsatisfactory. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, who had felt the severity of lord Strafford's administration, and now stood forth a zealous, irritated, and active partizan in the commons, was appointed prolocutor at a conference with the lords, to explain the reasons of the several questions proposed, and the insufficiency of the answers returned by the judges. The contest was closed, by a solemn determination of the house of commons, on every separate

parate article, in which the rights of Irish subjects were stated and affirmed with strength and precision, and all the powers assumed by the late administration, all irregular or illegal practices introduced by public confusions and sanctified by custom, were condemned explicitly and severely.

Carte.

In the impeachments, the house proceeded with less violence. Strafford had been deprived of any advantage to be derived from the evidence of the impeached lords. An act of attainder had been passed against him, and he had been already executed. The vengeance of his enemies in the Irish commons was not so insatiate as to require more victims. For the sake of form, and not immediately to relinquish their former proceedings, they appointed a committee to consider Sir George Ratcliffe's answer to their remonstrance: they received petitions against the bishop of Derry, and desired that the lords might not admit him to bail: the prelate, conscious of his innocence, petitioned the house of commons, that they would vouchsafe to hear his defence on one, two, or more of the foulest articles alleged against him, which should convince them that the rest were unworthy of their audience; but they declined this mode of proceeding. Though Bolton, the chancellor, and Sir Gerard Lowther, still kept their seats in council and in their courts, yet a new speaker had been appointed for the house of lords; and each of the accused persons exhibited an answer to the articles of their impeachment. But the fury of the commons was exhausted; no replication was prepared, no farther prosecution attempted.

THE general proceedings of this Irish parliament, when candidly and impartially considered, discover no more exceptionable motives, than an aversion to lord Strafford, provoked by an administration, in many instances imperious and severe; a resentment against the agents of his arbitrary measures; a passion for reformation, an eagerness to take advantage of the embarrassed and distressed circumstances of
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the king, to circumscribe the royal prerogative, and to support the popular rights and interests. One or two particulars of their conduct admit of a less favourable construction.

THE Irish forces, raised by lord Strafford for the ^{Comm.} service of Scotland, had long continued an useless ^{Journ.} and grievous burthen to the state of Ireland, and an odious and alarming object to the English commons. Money was wanting to discharge their arrears; to disband them unpaid were highly dangerous. The urgent and repeated remonstrances of the English parliament made it necessary to disband them; and to prevent the danger, Charles resolved to send them into some foreign service. France lay too near, too conveniently situated with regard to Ireland; and Richelieu was supposed as well inclined to raise commotions in this kingdom as in Scotland; the commons too, at this time, affected fears of an invasion from France. The king therefore resolved to send ^{Carta.} these forces into Spain, and for this purpose had actually entered into treaty with the Spanish ambassador. Orders were transmitted for disbanding them; and the state of Ireland was left to provide the money necessary for this purpose. By the address and diligence of the king's friends, a sum was raised not sufficient to discharge the arrears, but such as at present satisfied the soldiery. The regulations for dismissing them were so providently made, and the orders so exactly executed, that the whole body was dissolved without any immediate inconvenience or disorder. Preparations were now made for transporting the forces into Spain; and considerable sums of money expended for this purpose by the Spanish ambassador: when on a sudden, both the Irish committee in London, and the commons in Ireland, clamoured passionately against this measure. They urged, with a plausible and affected tenderness for the interests of the crown, that these forces might be sent back from Spain to raise insurrections in Ireland; that although the present king

of Spain was in amity with his majesty, yet his grandfather had meditated the conquest of this kingdom, and had been too successful in exciting the Irish to rebellion; that several heads of families attainted in the late reign, were now entertained at the Spanish court, and honoured with titles taken from places in Ireland, where their ancestors had flourished. They might hereafter be appointed to command the Irish troops; they might lead them back to assert their antient claims, and regain their forfeited inheritance.

If we may judge from the event, it seems not improbable that this clamour was industriously raised, and these specious arguments artfully suggested, by some leaders who entertained malignant designs against the English government. It was at least highly favourable to the purposes of such men, that a number of idle, indigent swordsmen, should be retained in Ireland, enflamed with religious bigotry and the pride of family, possessed with the barbarous ideas of chieftainry and its ties; with an habitual aversion to the English power; distracted by the clamour of public grievances, and ready for any purpose of innovation, how desperate soever. The English parliament, insensible or indifferent to the consequences, earnestly adopted the sentiments of the Irish commons, and echoed their affected apprehensions of an invasion from Spain. They well knew that the king of Spain, even if his present amity with England were ever so dissembled, had neither leisure nor power to project an invasion of its dominions, reduced as he was by a long war with France, and the late revolt of Portugal and Catalonia. But they mortified the king, and displayed their own power, by declaring, that they held it unfit to allow any levies in Ireland for the service of the king of Spain. They stopped the transports provided by the Spanish ambassador: he complained of the disappointment, and expence incurred by a reliance on the royal promise: Charles addressed himself to
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the house of lords; but parliament was inexorable. Merchants were obliged to give security that they would not transport forces from any part of the king's dominions. The Irish soldiers were left to prey upon their country, and to be made the instruments of rebellion.

ANOTHER particular, apparently of less moment, yet could not but raise some suspicion of designs against the public peace. The popular spirit in England had been considerably enflamed by rumours of plots, and extravagant suggestions of some sudden danger. The same artifice was practised in Ireland, and with the same success. It was rumoured that some servants or dependants of the late earl of Strafford had conspired to revenge his fall, by destroying the whole Irish parliament at one blow; and for this purpose had lodged a magazine of gunpowder under their place of session. Some leaders of both houses affected an alarm at this intelligence, and procured an order for a committee to inspect the chambers of the castle of Dublin, and to search for powder and ammunition. Every place adjacent to the apartments occupied by the two houses, was ransacked with extraordinary care; but no suspicious circumstance was discovered. Lord Macguire, the head of this committee, a nobleman of whom we shall have immediate occasion to speak fully, was yet unsatisfied; he discovered an extraordinary solicitude to be made acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the stores; he lavished his money on the officers and servants to purchase information: yet without prevailing; he addressed himself to Sir John Borlase, one of the lords justices and master of the ordinance. He surprised him with a demand to be admitted to the royal magazines, by virtue of an order of parliament, and to inspect the stores. Borlase, in the open honesty of a military man, did not possibly suspect any design of seizing these stores; but the pretence for this order was manifestly groundless, and this extraordinary solicitude, to inspect the magazines

Dr. Jones,
Narrat.
MS. Trin.
Col. Dub.

maggazines wherever they were situated, did not even correspond with the pretence. Macguire was mortified with a peremptory denial. "The stores," said Borlase, "are his majesty's precious jewels, and not to be exposed to view without special cause."

Cara.

A session of considerable heat and violence was protracted, in expectation of the Irish committees at length returning to Ireland with the bills promised by the king. The delay grew inconvenient and alarming to the chief governors, who dreaded some new acts of violence from the parliament. The solicitude which this assembly expressed for a continuance of their session, served but to confirm the lords justices in their earnestness for a recess. The houses adjourned, in full expectation of prosecuting their schemes of reformation in a future meeting, and apparently with a determined purpose of rising in their demands, and extorting new concessions from the throne. The time was most favorable to such designs; the Irish houses had discovered a spirit and discernment to embrace the favorable opportunity. To animate their hopes, the committees at length arrived, laden with favor and honor. They brought those bills for which the parliament had repeatedly and strenuously petitioned, by which the possessions of the subjects were ensured, and all their capital grievances redressed; so as to leave the most factious without reasonable excuse; to give real satisfaction to those who had asserted the rights of Irish subjects with sincerity and integrity, and to open a fair prospect of public tranquillity and national improvement.

C H A P. III.

Peace of Ireland fatally interrupted. . . . Causes and occasions of rebellion. . . . Temper of the mere Irish, . . . and old English. . . . Their provocations. . . . Influence of religion Spirit and principles of Romish ecclesiastics. . . . Their practices on the continent. . . . Schemes of insurrection discovered by Heber Mac-Mahon. . . . Influence of the Scottish insurrection, . . . Character of Roger Moore, . . . His connexion with young Tirone, . . . His practices with Plunket and Macguire. . . . He engages other Northerners Their conferences. . . . Their hopes of foreign succours. . . . They are enflamed by intelligence from England. . . . Proposal for seizing the castle of Dublin. . . . Sir Phelim O'Nial. . . . Plan of the conspiracy. . . . The whole design on the point of being laid aside. . . . Zeal of Moore to rectify it. . . . Scheme of proceeding in Dublin. . . . and in the country, . . . Fantastical projects of some conspirators. . . . Assembly at the abbey of Mullisernam Conspirators repair to Dublin. . . . Their consultation on the twenty-second of October. . . . Supineness of government. . . . Information of Sir William Cole neglected. . . . Owen O'Conolly. . . . His conference with Mac-Mahon His information to Sir William Parsons. . . . Council assembled at the house of Sir John Borlase. . . . Mac-Mahon seized and examined. . . . Lord Macguire detected and secured. . . . Escape of their associates. . . . Sir Francis Willoughby. . . . His advice, . . . His zeal and assiduity Confusion in Dublin. . . . False rumours. . . . Stratagem of Sir John Temple. . . . Measures for the public defence. . . . Lords of the Pale. . . . apply for arms. . . . Answer of the justices and council. . . . The proclamation of government offensive to the lords of the Pale, . . . Second proclamation. . . . Dispatches to the king, and to the earl of Leicester, . . . Successes of the rebels in Ulster. . . . Proceedings in Cavan and Longford. . . . Error of the English

lish Their calamities Rancorous spirit of the rebels Their pretended commission from the king Their subsequent manifesto Remonstrance from Longford Opposition given to the rebels Dispatches and supplies from the king O'Nial foiled and disgraced Defeat of the rebels at Lisburn Horrid cruelties of the rebels Massacre in ISLAND MAGEE.

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1641.

THE interval of that recess, to which the Irish parliament had reluctantly submitted, proved an important period; distinguished by a desperate conspiracy and insurrection. The hopes conceived from a peace of forty years, from the gradual improvement of the nation, from the activity of its parliament, from the favourable disposition of the king, from the temper of the English parliament, were in an instant confounded; and the calamities of former times revived in all their bitterness.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for a subject of Ireland to write of the transactions, now to be explained, without offending some, or all, of those discordant parties, who have been habituated to view them through the medium of their passions and prepossessions. The sufferings of their ancestors may have been shockingly aggravated, or their offences fallaciously extenuated. But it is not to be expected from the historian, that the allegations of their several partizans should be minutely stated, discussed, and confuted. It is his part to form a general narrative upon the best information to be obtained, with an attention steadily confined to truth, without flattering the prejudices, or fearing the resentments of sects or parties. A rapturous encomium on the present happiness and tranquillity of the nation, might be affectingly contrasted by some animated description of succeeding miseries and enormities. But it will be less dangerous, and possibly more candid, to confine ourselves within the sober bounds of history; and first to trace the causes and occasions of a rebellion, whose effects have been important
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and permanent ; and do not cease to operate even at this day, after a lapse of one hundred and thirty years.

THE victories of Elizabeth in Ireland left her successor to the exercise of his political and legislative abilities in this part of his dominions. But neither arms nor policy can at once form men's passions and sentiments by a new model, or extinguish every spark of national prejudice and animosity. Through the best governed and most civilized parts of Ireland, they produced an exterior of peace and reformation. Yet even these parts harboured numbers of the old Irish race, attached to the remains of their respective tribes, smarting with the remembrance of their sufferings, and habituated to regard the English government as an injurious usurpation. In remoter districts, the old inhabitants retained their original manners more avowedly, and were less careful to dissemble their resentments.

THEIR aversion extended, though with less inveteracy, to the old English race settled for several centuries in their country ; and in their prosperity they made little scruple to express it. Of this race, numbers had united with the rebel-earl of Tirone. In the pride of victory he boasted, that every man of English birth should be exterminated from every part of Ireland ; and to the astonishment of his old English confederates, he insolently assured them, that they also were to expect the same fate ; or if any of them should be suffered to remain, they were to become menial servants to the Irish, the only rightful inheritors of the land.

BUT such occasional effusions of insolence were not sufficient to estrange the old English from the original natives, or to possess them with that detestation of the mere Irish, which they who treat of the present period sometimes ascribe to them. They for the most part spake the Irish language ; they had all, in some degree, adopted Irish manners. Both races were intermixed by marriages ; they were united

Chichester's State
Papers,
MS. Trin.
Col. Dub.

ed by religion ; and they complained of the same grievances. By the new adventurers employed in the services of the crown, both were regarded indiscriminately as one people equally disaffected, and dangerous to the English interest. These men, who had raised large fortunes in Ireland, and frequently upon the ruin of the old natives, affected to be considered as the only loyal subjects of the realm ; and artfully contrived that even the most respectable of the old English families should be regarded by the crown with suspicion, and excluded from every office of trust or honor. The earl of Strafford proceeded yet further. It was his professed policy to break all factious combinations, to mortify all popular leaders, and to convince the proudest amongst them, that no power in Ireland should stand in competition with the king's viceroy. But he pursued this policy without temper or discretion. He was ever impatient to express his scorn of the old English race ; he studiously denied their nobles that respect and attention, to which they had been used in former times ; he told those men, whose ancestors had acquired the dominion of Ireland by their blood, that they were a conquered people, divested of all political rights, and dependent solely on the royal pleasure.

Rush-
worth.
Trial of
Strafford.

THE professed policy of James was to unite the inhabitants of Ireland, and for ever to abolish all odious distinctions. The real policy of his ministers, and their successors, was to distinguish them into two parties, that of loyal and affectionate subjects, containing only the late adventurers and servants of the crown ; and that of the disaffected and dangerous, including all the rest of the inhabitants. The people, thus insulted, were spirited and proud ; and there was an infatuated folly, as well as a barbarous iniquity, in provoking them yet further by injustice and oppression. The northern plantation, however justified, and well devised, was an object necessarily offensive to

to the pride and prejudices of the old Irish; and those among them who submitted and accepted their portion of lands, complained, that in many instances they had been scandalously defrauded. The revival of obsolete claims of the crown, harassing of proprietors by fictions of law, dispossessing them by fraud and circumvention, and all the various artifices of interested agents and ministers, were naturally irritating; and the public discontents must have been further enflamed by the insincerity of Charles, in evading the confirmation of his GRACES, the insolence of Strafford in openly refusing it; together with the nature and manner of his proceedings against the proprietors of Connaught.

To the influence of national prejudices and grievances in estranging the people from English government, we are to add the powerful operation of religious principles and prepossessions. Far the greater number of inhabitants were obstinately devoted to popery, provoked and mortified by the penal statutes of Elizabeth, and impatient of the odious disqualifications imposed upon them. These statutes indeed had not been generally enforced in their full rigour. Sometimes, however, the insolence of popish ecclesiastics provoked the execution of them; sometimes the terror of them was used as a political engine to extort concessions from the popish party; and in either case, there was pretence sufficient for exciting popular clamour. The Romish clergy had that influence even over the gentry of their communion, with which they are invested by the tenets of their religion; the ignorant herd of papists they governed at their pleasure. They had received their education, and imbibed their principles in foreign seminaries, particularly of France and Spain. Hence they returned to Ireland, bound solemnly to the pope in an unlimited submission, without profession or bond of allegiance to the king; full fraught with those absurd and pestilent doctrines,

which the moderate of their own communion professed to abominate; of the universal monarchy of the pope, as well civil as spiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes, to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential differences of vice and virtue. With this, and other impious trumpery of schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries, "contrary," saith Walsh, the Irish Franciscan, "to the letter, sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the Christian church for ten ages, and moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature."

Walsh's
Irish Re-
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ECCLESIASTICS of such a spirit and such principles were suffered to erect a spiritual jurisdiction in Ireland, exercised under the papal authority, generally with connivance, sometimes under the protection of popish magistrates, (for such men had in some instances been admitted to magistracies, without taking the oath of supremacy). But this jurisdiction was precarious, subject to the restraint and animadversion of the civil power; and therefore little suited to the ideas of clerical authority formed in countries, where popery was legally established. The state connived at the private exercise of their religious rites and devotions. But their imaginations were forcibly impressed with that pomp of religion, which they had seen in foreign countries. They had been witnesses of the grandeur of foreign prelates, the reverence paid to all orders of their clergy, their noble endowments, and comfortable revenues. They were mortified at their own situation, the disguise and secrecy to which they were reduced, the scanty and dependent subsistence, which they were impatient to exchange for the established income of the protestant clergy. Small as it was at this time, yet in their hands it might be
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considerably improved by the superstition of the laity and the terror of ecclesiastical censures.

It were fruitless and absurd to attempt the gratification of their desires in any way, but that of arms and insurrection. In foreign countries they found numbers of their countrymen, the offspring or followers of rebel chieftains, who were caressed and employed. They had little difficulty in enflaming such men with the remembrance of their family grandeur, the brave efforts of their fathers in the cause of religion and liberty, (for such was the language obvious to be used) their present state of depression, and the hopes of executing an effectual vengeance on their English oppressors. By the assistance of these their countrymen, or by the merit of being sufferers for religion, several of them gained access to ministers of state. To these they magnified the strength of the Irish catholics, represented them as impatient to take arms for the faith, solicited succours for the pious undertaking, and sometimes received no unfavourable answers. Elevated by any marks of attention, and conceiving sanguine hopes from the slightest intimations of favor and encouragement, they dispatched their emissaries into Ireland, to practise with the old Irish. The old Irish, proud, querulous, violent, unemployed, disdaining every profession but that of arms, were easily roused to any desperate attempt. Consultations were held, correspondencies conducted and carried on, schemes of insurrection formed; and so early as the year 1634, Heber Mac-Mahon, a Romish ecclesiastic, gave information to lord Strafford of a general insurrection intended in Ireland, to be assisted from abroad; and that he himself had been long employed in foreign courts, soliciting supplies for such an undertaking. Strafford was contented with taking the necessary precautions for security, without alarming the nation; and providing that the practices of the Irish in foreign courts should be strictly watched, and faithfully reported

ported. Rumours of conspiracy lightly propagated, and attended by no apparent consequences, served to confirm the confidence of Irish government, and to render it insensible to real danger. The spirit of rebellion was restrained, but not suppressed by the vigilance of Strafford; the severity of his administration increased its acrimony.

WHILE the passions of the Irish were thus dangerously agitated, the malecontents of Scotland, by their spirited and determined efforts in the cause of religion, and for the redress of civil grievances, by their resolution in taking arms, by the progress and success of their irruption into England, seemed to reproach the supineness of their neighbours, and to challenge them to a bold emulation of their conduct. If the Scots were suffered to establish a new religion, the Irish deemed it more meritorious, and less offensive, to labour for the restoration of an ancient model; if the Scots complained of temporal grievances, those of the Irish were more afflicting; if the valor of the Scots had extorted the amplest concessions, it was shameful for the Irish to resign the palm of valor. Such were the sentiments which popish emissaries were now remarkably industrious to propagate. They held their consultations, and formed their schemes of insurrection on the continent; their ecclesiastical agents were poured into Ireland; and so unguarded was their zeal, that their motions were not unnoticed. The English ministers soon perceived an unusual ferment among the Irish in foreign countries, they received secret intimations of some conspiracy now forming, they conveyed the intelligence to their court; and Vane, the secretary, was directed to acquaint the Irish lords justices "that there had passed from Spain, and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland; and some good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that king-

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"dom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught." It doth not appear that any measures were taken by the justices in consequence of this precaution; although the danger was approaching to their very door: the enemies of government were now giving some form to their design; and the address and abilities of one man conducting it to the point of final execution.

ROGER MOORE was the head of a once powerful Irish family of Leinster. His ancestors, in the reign of Mary had been expelled from their princely possessions, by violence and fraud; and their sept harassed and almost extirpated by military execution. Their remains were distinguished by an hereditary hatred of the English, which O'Moore, of queen Elizabeth's reign, expressed by the violence and obstinacy of his hostilities. The resentment of Roger was equally determined, irritated, as he was, by the sufferings of his ancestors, his own indigence and depression, and the mortifying view of what he called his rightful inheritance possessed by strangers, rioting in the spoils of his family. But his conduct was cautious and deliberate; for he had judgment, penetration, and a refinement of manners unknown to his predecessors. He was allied by intermarriages to several of the old English, and lived in intimacy with the most civilized and noblest of their race. Some part of his youth had been spent on the continent, where his manners were still further polished, and his hatred of the English power confirmed, by an intercourse with his exiled countrymen. He attached himself particularly to the son of the rebel-earl of Tirone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and who was caressed at the court. It was natural for such companions to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cause of their countrymen, and the hopes of still reviving the ancient splendor of their families. With such men,
in

Carta.
Ann. MS.

in such a place, an aversion to that power which had subverted all the old establishments in Ireland, was heroic patriotism. The spirit of Moore was on fire. He vowed to make one brave effort for the restoration of his brethren, was applauded by his associate, and returned to Ireland, totally engaged by the bold design.

Carta.

FROM the moment that the idea had first dawned in his mind, Moore wisely contrived by every possible means to conciliate the esteem and affection of the native Irish : he had the qualities most effectual for this purpose ; a person remarkably graceful, an aspect of dignity, a courteous and insinuating address, a quick discernment of men's characters, and a pliancy in adapting himself to their sentiments and passions. The old Irish beheld the gallant representative of one of their distinguished families, with an extravagance of rapture and affection ; they regarded him as their glory and their protection ; they celebrated him in their songs ; and it became a proverbial expression, that their dependance was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore

He proceeded to practice cautiously with his friends and kinsmen, and by fomenting their discontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his design. Among these was Richard Plunket, younger son of that Sir Christopher Plunket, who in the government of Chichester, was a distinguished leader of opposition in the Irish parliament ; a man well descended and allied. He had been bred in England, obtained a military command in Flanders, was distinguished and advanced ; he had a politeness which recommended him to his numerous connexions, and a plausibility which enabled him to influence and govern them. Vain in his temper, indigent in his fortune, and bigotted in religion, he was a fit instrument for Moore. The artful conspirator exaggerated the insults which the whole nation had sustained from the oppressive government of Strafford, enumerated all

all the public grievances; lamented the tedious and ineffectual measures taken for redress, extolled the gallantry of the Scots, who had at once established their religion and liberties, condemned the supineness of his own countrymen, who, instead of making a brave effort worthy of their valour, at a juncture the most favorable to such a purpose, waited with submission, until the puritanic party of England and Scotland should utterly extirpate the Roman catholic religion from every quarter of the king's dominions. Such suggestions had an instant effect on the mind of Plunket: he resigned himself to the direction of his kinsman, and became an active agent in his conspiracy.

No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining Carte. the leaders of the Ulster Irish, who had been so severely chastised by the arms of Elizabeth, and so grievously despoiled by the plantations of James.— Of these, Moore first applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniskillen. This lord was regarded as chieftain, by the remains of his sept still left in the county of Fermanagh. His ancestor had forfeited in the rebellion of Tirone: part of the forfeited lands had been restored to his grand-father for good services, and descended to the present lord, a youth of mean understanding, and a licentious and expensive life, already overwhelmed with debts, proud, and impatient of his distress. Moore reminded him of the antient affluence and splendour of his family, pathetically lamented his present difficulties, inveighed against that power which had despoiled the old and rightful possessors of the island, and planted a race of aliens and foreigners on their patrimony. The English government, he observed, was now become universally odious; that all the old inhabitants of Ireland, as well of the English as Irish race, were impatient of their numerous oppressions; and surely no juncture could be more favorable than the present, for a brave attempt to assert their liberties and regain their inheritance. When such
general

Narrative of lord Macguire. Nelson. general intimations proved insufficient, he demanded an oath of secrecy from Macguire; and under this seal assured him that he had conferred with several of the best quality in Leinster, as well as with numbers in Connaught, on the scheme of a general insurrection; that he found them ready to engage, provided the Irish of Ulster would unite in the design; a design which would restore him to the possessions, and establish the religion of his ancestors, unless he should meanly submit to his present distress; and suffer the English parliament to extend their persecution of the catholics into Ireland, and exterminate every professor of the Romish faith. His artifice at length prevailed; and, with still greater ease, he wrought to his purposes three other Irishmen of the northern province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reilly, and Torlagh, brother of Sir Phelim O'Nial the most considerable of his name and lineage now resident in Ulster.

Nelson. In his conferences with these new associates, he observed, that a general insurrection might be easily effected, in the present disordered state of England and Scotland, and when such numbers of their kinsmen and followers were in arms, and would gladly revolt to their natural leaders; that the time of execution should be chosen at the approach of winter, when no succours could be sent from England; that each should practise with his own friends; and as there was no doubt of receiving aid from abroad, they should notify their resolutions to the Irish on the continent. The northern conspirators cautiously insisted on the necessity of being fully and particularly assured of foreign succours before any measures should be hazarded on their part, except that of sounding the dispositions of their countrymen. Moore, who was impatient of delay, laboured to convince them of the futility of a tedious application to individuals, all friends to their design, and ready to rise in arms on the first alarm. Even the inhabitants of the Pale, he observed, would readily

dily follow the example of the native Irish, or at least would stand neuter in the public commotion; that the scheme had been already communicated to several persons of power; that one leader was engaged who could command an extensive district; and when urgently pressed to declare him, he named lord Mayor descended from a branch of the degenerate de Burghs, and of an extensive following in the western province.

To quicken the resolutions and animate the hopes of these conspirators, there now arrived opportunely from Spain an emissary from the earl of Tirone, as he was called, with assurances, to all of his name and kindred, of arms, money, and ammunition, from cardinal Richelieu, and instructions to hold themselves in readiness for an insurrection. He was directed to inform the earl that the month of October was fixed for the time of rising, and to desire that all the foreign succours might then be in readiness. In their present agitation, they were not damped by a sudden rumour of the death of young Tirone. They instructed their messenger, that if the report should be confirmed, he should address himself to another of the same family in the Low Countries, colonel Owen O'Nial, to acquaint him with the measures concerted in Ireland, and to desire his assistance and direction; and particularly, that he would continue the negotiation with the cardinal of France, and secure the succours he had promised.

THE spirits of the male-contents, even of those Nelson: not actually engaged in the conspiracy, were still further enflamed by new intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations issued against the catholics of England, and the denunciations of the Scots against all of their communion. Fears of extirpation by the fanatic fury of the puritans, were seriously conceived by some, and affected and propagated by the more designing. They possessed men's minds with the imagination of a Scottish ar-

Cate.

my, in all the phrensy of religious zeal, ready to land on the Irish shores, and to persecute the Romanists with sword and fire. Even the loyal catholics were alarmed at the thought of sending the disbanded Irish army into foreign service, when the regal authority, as well as their religion, was in danger. The conspirators had obvious reasons for insisting on the detention of these troops. Hence the violent clamours of the Irish commons, and the remonstrance against sending them to Spain. On intelligence of the king's permission to levy troops in Ireland for the Spanish service, Plunket, the associate of Moore, Hugh Byrne, a desperate male-content, whose father had been oppressed and deprived of his lands by Parsons, the lord justice, and a third officer, of the name of O'Nial, undertook to levy and transport some forces for this purpose; and, though unauthorized by the king, were unnoticed, or at least unrestrained by Irish Government. Sir James Dillon, a man of honorable family of the old English race, pretended to be engaged in the same service. These officers were already involved in the general scheme of insurrection; and being all zealous catholics, expressed the utmost horror and detestation at the severities denounced against their religion in England and Scotland. In their secret consultations they laboured to animate their associates: they proposed to employ the forces they should raise in the cause of their brethren, and defence of their religion; and promised to seize the castle of Dublin, with all the king's stores, arms, and ammunition, provided that the insurrection should be general, and especially that the Irish of Ulster should support them by a spirited concurrence.

Ibid.

A DESPERATE and dangerous partizan, of the northern province, was about this time engaged in the conspiracy; SIR PHELM O'NIAL of Kinnard, in the county of Tirone. He had been educated in Lincoln's Inn, and in his youth professed the protestant religion; but returned to popery, and the rudeness

rudeness of an Irish life, on settling in his native country. His family had been treated with no severity by government; nor deprived of any of their possessions. On the contrary, their lands had been secured to them by their loyalty and good services, and by a new patent were confirmed to Sir Phelim. With a mean understanding, and a sensual and brutal temper, he took possession of his estate, before he had acquired judgment or discretion to conduct himself, and of consequence was soon involved in all the difficulties arising from a licentious and dissipated life. His name and family, however, gave him a considerable influence over the mere Irish of his province; which was increased by the death of the young Tirone, of Spain, at first lightly reported, but soon confirmed. This event left him in an uncontested rank of consequence among his kindred and dependents, chieftain of the extensive and powerful sept of O'Nial. He entertained his imagination with the prospect of exchanging his present indigence and inferiority, for the vast domains and princely power annexed to this title, in old times. With these hopes, he plunged eagerly into the conspiracy against English government. He entered into correspondence with Owen O'Nial, the Irish officer of the Low Countries; he listened to his assurances of foreign succours; he affected to appear the leader of the northern Irish; and, under pretence of levying forces for the king of Spain, collected all the indigent and profligate, the barbarous, the violent, or the discontented, and kept them in readiness to obey the orders of their superior.

THE acquisition of such a partizan gave new confidence to those officers, Plunket, Byrne, and Dillon who had undertaken to seize the castle of Dublin. They had a fair prospect of a powerful northern insurrection to co-operate with their attempts. They continued their private consultations, and discussed every particular relative to the undertaking, calmly and distinctly. To pay their soldiers (for a civil

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civil war of some length was necessarily expected) they resolved to seize all the rents of the kingdom, without distinction of persons: and the pope, it was expected, would send them an additional supply. They required some assurance of foreign succours. Byrne affected to slight the doubts of his associates: he told them that Owen O'Nial had received the most solemn promises of aid from cardinal Richelieu; and particularly, would be enabled to furnish them instantly with a considerable quantity of arms; that he himself had conferred with the Spanish ambassador, and doubted not of assistance from his court; that they were engaged in defence of the catholic religion; that every catholic power must therefore necessarily espouse their cause. As to the gentlemen of the Pale, Plunket boldly undertook to procure their concurrence: several of them, he declared, he had already sounded, and found willing to engage; that he had opened the design of an insurrection to lord Gormanston, and others of the Irish committees in London, who approved and commended it; so that he had a moral certainty of effectual assistance from the Pale. These vague expectations were sufficient to confirm the conspirators in their purpose. The fifth day of October was fixed for the time of rising. It was resolved that Plunket and Byrne should seize the castle of Dublin, with one hundred men; that Sir James Dillon should march to their support with one thousand, and that while the Ulster leaders were employed in securing London-Derry, and all the forts and garrisons of the North, they should detach one thousand more to the assistance of their friends in Dublin.

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HITHERTO, Roger Moore beheld with secret pleasure the progress of that conflagration which he had lighted up: he had of late kept himself retired, employing lord Macguire as agent and emissary, to carry on the correspondence between the different conspirators. But now, he was necessarily called forth

forth to a more active part, as his whole favorite scheme seemed on the point of ruin. Sir Phelim O'Nial, who assumed a sort of consequence and authority, insisted that the insurrection should be deferred to a later day; for that he could not commence his operations so early as the fifth of October: nor did he appear sufficiently determined, or decided in his method of procedure. What was still more alarming, the vanity of Plunket, in answering for the gentlemen of the Pale, began to be suspected by his associates. It seems highly improbably that Plunket knowingly and purposely, gave false assurances: men of his temper deceive themselves. He might have discoursed with several of the Pale on a scheme of insurrection; and they might, in general have approved the design, of imitating Scotland, taking advantage of the disorders of England, and establishing their religion by a military enterprize. But their fortunes were not so desperate, nor their passions so enflamed, as those of the mere Irish. They were generally under the influence of lawyers (for the sons of their noblest families had been bred to the profession of law.) And these are "a set of men," saith Mr. Carte, "always averse to war, in which their profession is of little use." They had conducted an opposition in parliament with remarkable success; they had gained many concessions from the crown; and, had not their progress been fatally interrupted, they might have taken further advantage of the distresses and abasement of the king, and extorted further provisions for the rights and interests of Irish subjects. The more moderate of the Pale were contented to proceed in this manner: the most provoked and violent determined rather to take advantage of a successful commotion, than engage in a precarious and dangerous attempt to raise it.

THEY, on the other hand, who had already engaged in the more desperate part, were offended and alarmed at the coldness of the Pale. They expected

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to

to have been already joined by some leaders of this district: they complained to Plunket of their disappointment; and Plunket, ashamed of the confidence he had formerly expressed, was now obliged to confess that his friends were not prepared to join in the commencement of the enterprize, though well disposed to second it. His associates reminded him, that their engagement to attempt the castle of Dublin was made on condition of a general concurrence: since this could not be obtained, they were resolved to abandon an enterprize, in which they alone were to be exposed to danger, without any reasonable hopes of success.

THE undaunted spirit of Moore was irritated and mortified. He stepped out of his retreat; he conferred with Sir Phelim O'Nial; he conjured him not to be deterred, by the levity of Plunket, or the timidity of Dillon, from an enterprize which was to restore the antient grandeur of his house. He addressed himself to colonel Byrne; enflamed his resentment of the injuries of his family, and reproached his inglorious caution and reluctance. He lamented the disappointment of their friends on the continent, who impatiently expected some gallant effort on their parts, and were ready to pour their foreign succours into Ireland. By his assiduity, by his address and artifice, he so wrought on O'Nial, Byrne, and Macguire, that they grew ashamed of their fears, and resumed their purpose of taking arms, notwithstanding the defection of some few of their confederates. The conspiracy thus revived, produced frequent conferences in different places, to collect associates, and regulate the order and method of procedure.

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It was finally resolved to surprise the castle of Dublin on the twenty-third day of October. Moore was the first to undertake this bold enterprize; and to him, together with Byrne, Macguire, and captain Brian O'Nial, it was principally committed; while Sir Phelim O'Nial engaged to lead the northern insurrection. In the attempt on the castle two hundred

dred men were to be employed, composed equally of their followers from Ulster and Leinster. From the former province Sir Phelim and Brian O'Nial, Mac-Mahon, Reily, and Macguire, engaged to detach their respective parties, under able and faithful leaders. That their march might be less suspicious, it was contrived that they should be taken for new levies intended for the service of Spain; and, as the day appointed for their arrival in Dublin was that, on which a weekly market was usually held, it was presumed, that the extraordinary concourse would pass unnoticed. The leaders had their different stations appointed: they of Ulster were to make their attack on the great gate of the castle, while those of Leinster should force the smaller.

As to the proceedings in the country, it was resolved that the rising should be on the same day and as general as possible; that all forts and garrisons should be seized, and all the gentry made prisoners, for the better security of the conspirators, against any adverse fortune. For the same reason it was determined, that the enterprize should be conducted, in every quarter, with as little bloodshed as possible. Sir Phelim O'Nial was appointed to seize London-Derry, Sir Henry O'Nial, his kinsman, engaged to surprise Carricfergus; and the seizure of Newry was entrusted to Sir Conn Macgenis, his brother-in-law and dependent. When this should be effected, the Ulster chieftains promised to march to Dublin to the assistance of Moore and his associates, that the post of greatest consequence might be effectually secured.

It was apprehended that the Scottish settlers, who were numerous and powerful in the northern province, might embarrass their designs by a strenuous and dangerous opposition. To obviate this inconvenience, it was resolved to leave them totally unmolested, as if with peculiar favor and indulgence to the old allies and kinsmen of the Irish. If this treatment should not keep them quiet, it was suggested, that their attention might be diverted to their own country,

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try, by raising some disturbances in Scotland, under favor of the earl of Argyle, who had formerly entered into a treaty of mutual assistance with young Tirone, and had sometimes intimated that he could raise a dangerous flame in Ireland.

Such were the schemes, the prospects, the progress, and the motives of these leaders of the conspiracy. The memoirs of one Plunket, which lie among the manuscripts of the Bodleian library, assure us, with consummate gravity, that the earl of Ormond had received private instructions from the king to seize the persons of the two puritan lords justices of Ireland; that the Irish leaders had discovered this secret; and that the sole object of their design was, originally, nothing more than to run foremost in loyalty, and to snatch the merit of this service from the earl. The falsehood has been sometimes shamefully adopted by popish zealots, and sometimes disgraced their foreign publications. But from the minute and artless narrative of a principal accomplice, deeply engaged through the whole progress of the conspiracy, and admitted to the secret counsels of the great leaders, it appears (with the utmost clearness which can reasonably be required in historical evidence) that the design was nothing less important, than the utter subversion of all the late establishments of property; restoring the native Irish to all that they had lost, by the rebellions of their ancestors, or the decisions of law; and procuring an establishment for the Romish religion, with all the splendor and affluence of its hierarchy.

It is not indeed to be expected that all the different persons engaged in this design had precisely the same views and purposes. Some might have rushed wildly into a scheme of insurrection, which flattered their passions, without any premeditated plan of conduct, in case of success. Nor were the more deliberate agreed in their particular objects and pursuits. The moderate among them are said to have been contented with a reform of government, without renouncing their allegiance to the

the crown of England. They deemed it meritorious to relieve the subject, by confining the king's revenue within some reasonable and certain bounds; Dr. they determined to require that the administration of Irish government should be committed to two lords justices, one of the antient Irish, the other of the old British race, and both of the Romish profession; that the law of Poynings should be utterly repealed, as well as every penal statute enacted against popery; that the Romish prelates should be admitted to parliament, and the Romish religion only established throughout the kingdom. Some were contented with expelling the British settlers, and re-investing all the old proprietors with their estates; others were for driving out the new created lords, and even those of the old nobility who should not conform to popery: others again possessed their imaginations with schemes the most absurd and fantastical; they computed that two hundred thousand able men might be found in Ireland, entirely at their devotion; of these they proposed to arm thirty thousand, by means of those supplies expected from the continent; they were to transport this army into England; they were to be assisted by France and Spain; they were to reduce the whole island of Britain to an obedience to the pope; and when this glorious work should be effected, they were to assist their good ally the Spaniards against the Hollanders, and to chastise their rebellion.

SUCH extravagancies are said to have gained particular possession of the Romish clergy. Heber Mac-Mahon had been admitted into many secret consultations of the leading conspirators; and in the progress of their design, it was necessarily communicated to many other ecclesiastics. Men of this order, when engaged in any factious purpose, are, in proportion to their ignorance and inexperience, wild, insolent, and presumptuous. We are told, that early in the month of October a considerable meeting of the principal Romish clergy, together

with some laymen of their faction, was held at the abbey of Multiferriam, in the county of Westmeath. They consulted in the fitness of arrogance and vanity, as if they were already masters of the kingdom, and absolute directors of the intended war. Among other questions, it was debated what course should be taken with the English, and other protestants of the kingdom, when they should be at the mercy of the insurgents. The more moderate advised that they should be simply banished. The king of Spain, they observed, in expelling the Moors from Granada, and other parts of his dominions, had suffered them to depart unmolested, and even with some of their effects. They recommended the like honorable lenity towards the English, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted for some advantages, and whose countrymen of Britain would thus be the less incensed. Others exclaimed against the indulgence granted to the Moors, as contrary to the express opinion of the Spanish council, and in the event highly detrimental not to Spain only; but all Christendom: they contended, that to dismiss the English unmolested were but to give them the opportunity of returning with double fury, to regain their possessions, and execute their revenge; that a general massacre was therefore the safest and most effectual method of freeing the kingdom from such fears. Others again declared against these extremes of lenity and cruelty, and suggested schemes of procedure, neither so indulgent, nor so abhorrent to humanity. Such is the account of this assembly given by a Franciscan, who alleged that he was present, and a sharer in those deliberations.

But if the clergy indulged such hopes from the success of the conspiracy, the leaders were more cautious and solicitous to secure this success. When the time of execution had been finally settled, an emissary was dispatched to Owen O'Nial; and returned with assurance that in fourteen days after he would

would arrive to their support. As the day approached, they gradually drew towards Dublin, in all the anxiety of men conscious of their momentous enterprise. On the evening of the twenty-second day of October, they assembled, in expectation of the detachment destined to assault the castle; of these eighty only were arrived; neither Sir Phelim O'Nial's, nor Mac-Mahon's followers appeared. Colonel Byrne was alarmed at the absence of Sir Morgan Cavenagh, a conspirator of some consequence in Leinster. But these disappointments were not sufficient to deter the leaders. They encouraged each other with the assurance that every hour would encrease their numbers. They persevered in their resolution; and to give time for the arrival of their parties, resolved that the assault should be made on the evening of the ensuing day.

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of Lord
Macguire.*

EVEN to this moment the chief governors of Ireland seemed to sleep in full security. On the death of Strafford, the earl of Leicester, descended from Sir Henry Sydney, so famous in Ireland, had been nominated lord lieutenant of this kingdom; but his commission was delayed, and the administration of government still continued in the hands of Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlase. The first was vigilant only to encrease his fortune and consequence; the latter an aged soldier, indolent, and ignorant, except in the business of his profession. The temper and principles of Parsons, the progress of his fortune, and the measures he had already taken to advance it, made it by no means incredible that he might artfully connive at a wild scheme of rebellion, to enrich his coffers by new forfeitures. His known attachment to the popular party of England might have also given him some degree of secret satisfaction in a public commotion, which would prove embarrassing to the crown. However this may be, both the lords justices were equally deficient in their vigilance and their affection to the king. They owed their station to the English commons, and their

Carr.

their partizans in the privy council; and their attention and attachment were confined wholly to the prevailing power. Confident of support, they disobeyed the orders, and despised the instructions of the king. The caution transmitted by Sir Henry Vane seems to have been received with total disregard. On the eleventh day of October, an express from Sir William Cole, a gentleman of Enniskillen, informed them of an unusual and suspicious resort of various Irish to the house of Sir Phelim O'Nial; of many private journies made by lord Macguire; of dispatches sent to their different friends; an extraordinary solicitude for levying men, as if for the service of Spain, and other circumstances alarming to the friends of government. The lords justice still continued insensible to their danger. On the twenty-first, Cole dispatched a full account of the conspiracy, which had by this time been revealed to him by two accomplices. Yet this instance of his zeal proved equally ineffectual: for his letter to the justices was either intercepted or suppressed.

Temple.
Irish rebellion.

BUT accident at length obtruded a discovery on the lords justices, when the conspirators had already agreed finally on their operations, and but waited the hour of execution. Owen O'Connolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, and educated in the profession of a protestant, was considered by Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the conspirators, as an agent likely to engage, and to prove useful, in their design; whether from supposition of his secret attachment to the religion of his ancestors, or that his family had been despoiled by the plantations. Mac-Mahon summoned him to his house in the county of Monaghan; but before his arrival had removed to Dublin. Hither he was followed by O'Connolly; and their first interview was on the evening of the twenty-second day of October, when the leaders had closed their secret consultation, by falling on their knees, and drinking to the success of their enterprize.

Barlase.

IN the fulness of exultation and confidence, Mac-Mahon disclosed the whole design to his associate ; and dwelt with particular triumph on the glorious action of to-morrow. He introduced him to lord Temple Macguire ; and in his presence entered into a full detail of the intended enterprize. From Macguire, he again conducted him to his own lodgings, again enlarged on the gallantry of the attempt, the effectual precautions already taken, and the fair prospect of success, peremptorily insisting on his concurrence. A design of so much danger so suddenly disclosed, so speedily to be executed, oppressed the imagination of O'Connolly. He attempted to convince Mac-Mahon of his perilous situation ; but was answered with tremendous denunciations of vengeance should he presume to betray the least particle of the secret. Mac-Mahon insisted on detaining him to the very hour of the assault ; O'Connolly found it necessary to affect compliance ; he was at once converted into a determined conspirator ; but pleading some casual necessity of retiring, and leaving his sword, in Mac-Mahon's chamber, as if he were instantly to return, he rushed out in consternation, and, intoxicated as he was by a carousal with his friend, presented himself to Sir William Parsons.

WITH evident marks of disorder and confusion, he informed the lord justice of the desperate design to be immediately executed, of his author, and the principal associates. Parsons, prejudiced against his appearance, and the manner of his discovery, coldly recommended to him to return to Mac-Mahon, and to inform himself more particularly of the intended treason. On his departure, the lord justice was suddenly recalled to a sense of danger. He ordered the castle and city to be guarded ; he sought his colleague, and informed him of the extraordinary incident. Borlase was more deeply affected ; he condemned him for dismissing the discoverer ; summoned the privy counsellors ; dispatched servants through the city in search of O'Connolly : they found him

him in the hands of the town watch ; for as he had sufficient recollection not to return to Mac-Mahon, he was seized in the streets as a suspicious person. He was still disordered by his terror and excess ; he was permitted to take repose, and then gave his information clearly and particularly. Mac-Mahon was first seized ; lord Macguire was detected in his concealment ; Moore, Byrne, and the other leaders, received timely intimation of their danger, and escaped. Mac-Mahon*, after some hesitation, freely confessed the design in which he had engaged ; boasted that the insurrection of that day was too mighty and too general to be subdued ; and expressed his satisfaction, that, although he had fallen into the power of his enemies, his death would be severely revenged.

Carte from MS. Memoirs. **HAPPILY** for the state of Ireland, Sir Francis Willoughby, governor of the fort of Galway, a privy counsellor, a spirited and experienced soldier, arrived at Dublin on this important evening. Finding the gates shut against him, and an unusual agitation in the suburbs, and being informed that the justices and council were now assembled at Chichester house, on the Green leading to the college (for in this house Borlase now resided) he hastened thither, and learned the occasion of their unseasonable meeting. He comforted the council with an assurance, that through his whole journey from Galway the country seemed in profound composure, nor had he discovered the

* It was observed, that this conspirator, while he waited in a hall, until the council should examine him, with great appearance of composure, amused himself with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or grovelling on the ground. It seems not unreasonable to suppose, that this might have arisen from a sudden recollection of that fate which he and his associates were to expect, on the discovery of their plot. But men interpreted the frivolous incident agreeably to their passions. They looked with horror on the conspirator who could wantonly indulge his imagination with the cruelties to be exercised by his associates, and the horrid excesses of their rebellion.

the least indication of hostility. He informed them, however, that an unusual number of strange horsemen had all the night been pouring into the suburbs; and though denied admittance, still hovered round the city. He observed the insecurity of their present situation, and recommended to them to remove immediately to the castle. They obeyed. On entering the council chamber, they appointed Willoughby to the custody both of the castle and the city; and drew up a proclamation, notifying the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy formed by some evil affected Irish papists, recommending to all good subjects to provide for defence, and to display their loyalty; and forbidding any levies to be made for foreign service.

SUCH was the defenceless state of the castle of ^{Carte} Dublin, that, although the conspirators had been ^{from MF.} prevented from surprising it, they might have easily ^{Memoirs.} taken it by force, had they not been dismayed by the sudden discovery of their design. The king's army, consisting of about two thousand foot, and nine hundred horse, was divided into small parties, stationed in distant garrisons. The citizens of Dublin had objected to lord Strafford, that in violation of their charter he had billeted soldiers in their city. The present justices had ever affected to administer their government on popular principles. They had quartered no soldiers in Dublin. The castle, in which was deposited fifteen hundred barrels of powder, with a proportional quantity of match and bullet, arms for ten thousand men, thirty five pieces of artillery, with all their equipage, was defended by eight infirm warders, and forty halberdiers, the usual guard of the chief governors on all occasions of parade. Willoughby lost not a moment in securing a place of such consequence against any sudden attempt. The council table was his only couch. He could not venture to let down his draw-bridge, without the attendance of his whole insignificant guard, until the arrival of a part of his disbanded regiment

ment from Carlisle, enabled him to arm two hundred men, for defence of the castle; a body, soon reinforced by those who fled for shelter to the capital, and by some detachments of the army recalled from their quarters by the lords justices.

Carte.
from MS.
Memoirs.

Temple.

In the mean time the citizens of Dublin were without defence, alarmed at midnight with the clamour of treason and insurrection; confirmed in their fears, by those expresses which arrived on the succeeding day, notifying the successful progress of the rebels; distracted by false rumours, and tales of imaginary danger. Some affirmed that the Irish were collected at Tarah to the number of ten thousand, and in a few hours would storm the city. Others insisted that they were on their march, and actually in view. Some of the privy council mounted the platform of the castle to discover the approaching enemy; some fancied that they perceived the motions of an army existing only in their fears. Those protestant inhabitants, who, by their weakness, their age, or their sex, were most susceptible of terror, swelled the crowds that waved tumultuously through the streets, in search of intelligence, and, by their shrieks and clamours, encreased the general consternation. A few swords were by some accident, drawn in the midst of a distracted populace. A person of some consequence saw the glitter at a distance: he flew to the castle-gate, hastily ordered the bridge to be drawn up; and with a tone and aspect of despair assured the justices, that the rebels had entered the city, and were furiously rushing through the streets leading to the castle. Willoughby soon discovered the mistake.

Carte.

A PROCLAMATION, issued by the lords justices, commanding all strangers to depart from the city, on pain of death, had not allayed the general commotion. Many of the English inhabitants abandoned all hopes of defence, and suddenly prepared to escape to their native country. Some, who had already embarked, were detained by contrary winds, and chose rather to endure the
extre-

extranities of distress and tempestuous weather, on ship-board, than to venture ashore into the power of a barbarous enemy. A fleet of Scottish fishermen offered to detach five hundred of their crew to the service of the state; but scarcely had the overture been accepted, when a false alarm of danger drove them from the coast. Four hundred soldiers, embarked for the service of Spain, but detained in the harbour by orders of the English parliament, were prohibited from landing, until they were on the point of perishing by famine; and then were suffered to disperse through the country, to be enlisted by the rebel-leaders.

The state, however, derived some advantage from the public alarm. Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, collected the principal protestant merchants of the city; he advised them for their better security, in this time of danger and disorder, to deposit their effects within the castle, engaging to answer for the value of whatever should be applied to the public service. Thus was a seasonable supply of provisions obtained, at a time when the treasury was totally exhausted, and the magistrates of Dublin unable or unwilling to advance any money to the state.

A few days allayed the confusion of the capital, and enabled the chief governors to take their measures, and issue their orders with more composure. No intelligence of hostilities had been received but ^{Temple.} from the northern counties. Yet dispatches were sent to the lords presidents of Munster and Connaught (for these offices were still continued) directing them to provide for defence. The earl of Ormond was required to repair to Dublin with his troop. Commissions were sent by sea to several loyal gentlemen of Ulster, empowering them to prosecute the rebels, and to receive those who should submit to the king's mercy. To prevent any dangerous concourse in the city, the parliament appointed to assemble in November was still farther prorogued.

and the courts of law adjourned, except that of the exchequer, which was left open for receiving the king's rents. The sheriffs of those counties which composed the English Pale, were ordered to provide for the security of this district, where the power and numerous dependents of great lords, attached to the Romish cause, were evidently suspected and dreaded by government. Nor were these apprehensions quieted; when the lords Gormanston, Nettervil, Fitz-William, Howth, Kildare, Fingal, Dunsany, Slane, appeared before the council, expressing their surprize and abhorrence of the conspiracy. All, Romish and protestant alike, gave solemn assurances of their loyalty, declared their readiness to concur in the defence of the realm; but as they were entirely destitute of arms, required to be provided, for their own security, as well as the annoyance of the enemy. The justices, in their puritanic hatred of popery, in a time of danger and secret treason, when all the enemies of government, and all the extent of their designs were not yet discovered, naturally regarded most of these lords with jealousy and distrust. To arm them, might be to enable them to join the rebels with greater strength. To deny them arms, were to avow a suspicion of their loyalty, which might provoke the wavering, and drive the determined to an immediate insurrection. In this embarrassment, a middle way was deemed the safest. The council assured them, that they had an entire reliance on their zeal and loyalty; that they would gladly supply them with arms, but were not yet assured that a sufficient number could be spared from the necessary defence of the castle and city; that some, however, should be spared. They accordingly delivered out a small quantity of arms and ammunition to some of those lords, who, by their situation, seemed most exposed to danger: resolving, at the same time, not to arm the Pale effectually, unless the insurrection should become so general, as to oblige them to hazard every expedient for defence, however doubtful or precarious.

THE

THE lords of the Pale probably had sufficient discernment to discover, or suspect, the real dispositions of the state, and the real motive for supplying them so sparingly with arms. They could not disprove the allegations of the council; yet their dissatisfaction appeared in that readiness with which they caught at the slightest occasion of complaint. In a few days they again appeared before the council; they expressed a deep concern at a proclamation issued by the state, and now published through the kingdom. It purported, that a detestable conspiracy had been formed, *by some evil-affected IRISH papists*. They apprehended that this expression might be so interpreted as to extend to their own persons, and to contain an injurious reflection on their loyalty. It was deemed necessary to condescend to this affected delicacy. By a second proclamation it was declared, that the words IRISH PAPISTS were only intended to include the mere Irish of Ulster, not to convey the least reflection or imputation of disloyalty on the old English, either of the Pale or any other parts of Ireland.

It was at the same time necessary, to send intelligence to the neighbouring kingdom of all these extraordinary events. Sir Henry Spotswood was ^{Temple.} charged with dispatches to the king, now resident in Edinburgh; O'Connolly was the bearer of a letter to the earl of Leicester, who attended the parliament in London. It contained a distinct account of the discovery, the apprehension of MacMahon and Macguire, the succeeding incidents, and the measures taken for public defence. The justices and council declare, that, as the lives and fortunes of his majesty's subjects in Ireland, as well as his regal authority, are at stake, they must deviate from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law, but in putting those to the rack, who might not otherwise discover their treason and accomplices: they point out the extreme danger of their situation, supposing the insurrection to become

so general as Mac-Mahon had declared; and the necessity of speedy and effectual aid from England, unprovided as they were with money, unable to maintain their incompetent and scattered forces, and surrounded with secret enemies. They urge the necessity of the lord lieutenant's presence in Ireland; or if this could not be obtained, that he should appoint a lieutenant-general to command the army. But above all things, they desire that the English parliament should be moved to grant an immediate supply of money for the service of Ireland, the only means to prevent the expence of blood and treasure, in a long continued war.

THE letter was closed by a postscript, signed by Sir William Parsons, recommending O'Connolly, as a person, who, by his faith and loyalty, had deserved such a mark of royal bounty as might extend to him and his posterity.

Deposition of
Maj. Dory,
MS. Trin.
Col. Dub.
Rot.
Capt. H.

Carta.

In the mean time, the most affecting intelligences were hourly received of the progress of the northern rebels. Their operations had been duly concerted, their design concealed; and the confederates, faithful to their engagements, rose at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O'Nial led the way: on the evening of the twenty-second of October he surprized the castle of Charlemont, a place of consequence in those days. Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal service, had been made governor of this fort. With the simplicity and love of ease natural to a veteran, he declined the honor of an earldom, when offered by king James, contented himself with an hospitable residence on his estate, and lived with his Irish neighbours in unsuspecting confidence. Sir Phelim invited himself to sup with this lord; he and his followers were received; on a signal given, they seized the whole family, made the garrison prisoners, and ransacked the castle. Hence O'Nial flew to Dunganannon and seized the fort, while some of his adherents possessed themselves of the town and castle of Mountjoy.

Mountjoy. Tandragee was surprised by the sept of O'Hanlan; Newry, betrayed to Sir Conn Magennis and his train; and though the governor, Sir Arthur Tyringham, escaped, yet several English gentlemen were made prisoners; and, what was still of greater consequence to the insurgents, they possessed themselves of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almost all Fermanagh yielded to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of strength in Monaghan was seized by the sept of Mac-Mahon. Derry, Colerain, Lisnagarvey, or Lisburn, and Carricfergus, were maintained against the boisterous assaults of the rebels; Enniskillen was secured by Sir William Cole.

In the county of Cavan, both the representative in parliament, O'Reilly, and the sheriff his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unusual regularity. The sheriff summoned the popish inhabitants to arms; they marched under his command with the appearance of discipline; forts, towns, and castles, were surrendered to them. Bedel, bishop of Kilmore, was compelled to draw up their remonstrance of grievances, to be presented to the chief governors and council; in which they declare their apprehensions of persecution on account of religion, express their regret at being forced to seize the king's forts for his majesty's service, and profess their readiness to make restitution for any outrages committed by their inferior followers. In the county of Longford, the sept of O'Ferghal had been particularly injured by the plantations of James; and were now impatient to avenge their injuries. The county like that of Cavan, was summoned to arms by the popish sheriff; every castle, house, and plantation of the British inhabitants was seized. Leitrim, another planted county, followed this example; so that within the space of eight days the rebels were absolute masters of the entire counties of Tirone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal,

Donnegal, and Derry (except of the places already mentioned, and some inferior castles) together with some parts of the counties of Armagh and Down.

Carte.
Temple

THROUGH the whole open country of these districts, the English inhabitants, who were all industrious and rich, found themselves suddenly involved in the most deplorable calamities. They scarcely believed the first reports of an insurrection; and the beginnings of hostilities served rather to confound, than to excite them to any reasonable measures of defence. Instead of flying to places of strength, or collecting into considerable bodies, each made some feeble efforts for defending his own habitation; and thus fell, single and unsupported, into the power of a ruthless enemy. The alarm of war, and hopes of plunder, quickly allured the Irish septa to the service of O'Nial; so that in one week he is said to have become the leader of thirty thousand men. Parties of plunderers multiplied; by force or artifice they possessed themselves of the houses and properties of their English neighbours. Resistance produced some bloodshed; and in some instances private revenge, religious hatred, and the suspicion of some valuable concealment, enraged the triumphant rebels to insolence, cruelty, and murder. So far however was the original scheme of the conspiracy at first pursued, that few fell by the sword, except in open war and assault; no indiscriminate massacre was as yet committed. The English were either confined in prisons, in perpetual terror of destruction; or driven from their habitations, naked, destitute, exposed to the rigor of a remarkably severe season, fainting and dying in the highways, or crawling to some place of refuge, in the ghastliness of fear and famine.

Various
D-pos.
MS. Trin.
Col. Dub.

THE leaders of rebellion as yet confined their attack to the English settlements, and, agreeably to their scheme, left the Scottish planters unmolested. The English were the objects of their detestation, and the measures of a puritanic government the perpetual

perpetual subject of their complaint. Their ignorant followers were assured, that the lords justices and council in Dublin, in conjunction with their friends of England, breathed the most desperate vengeance against the Romish religion; that a con-^{Various}sultation had actually been held at Chichester-house^{Depos.} for extirpating all of this communion from Ireland.^{MS.} Such suggestions gave new edge to the fury of^{Trin. Col.} the Irish. Every marauding party thundered out^{Dub.} their detestation of England, and English tyranny. They vowed not to leave one Englishman in their country; that they would have no king but one of their own nation; that they would destroy Charles, were he in their power; and hoped to drive out him and his children to wander in a foreign land for ever.

THIS rancorous spirit was kept alive by false hopes of assistance and support. The rebels were sometimes assured that the Scots had really concurred in the design of extirpating the English. Sometimes their leaders boasted that they had risen by^{Ibid.} instructions and commission from the queen. In seizing Charlemont, O'Nial declared that he acted by authority of the English parliament. But these pretences were instantly laid aside as dangerous to their cause. On the succeeding day the Irish leader professed that he had the king's commission for taking arms. He produced a parchment, with a great seal appending, which he affirmed to be this commission; and though he would not suffer it to be inspected, the bold assertion dismayed those protestants of the puritanic party, who entertained no favourable sentiments of Charles, and who at sight of the great seal, declared, at once, that they were^{Deposition of} a SOLD PEOPLE. The commission soon appeared,^{Jane Bear} drawn up in due form, and was notified with great^{&c.} solemnity to the Irish confederates.

IN this instrument the king is made to declare to his catholic subjects of Ireland, that for the preservation of his person, he had long been obliged to^{Nelson. Rush-}take^{worth.}

take his residence in Scotland; occasioned by the disobedience of the English parliament, which had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and assumed the government and administration of the realm; that as these *storms blow aloft*, and are likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the ~~PROTESTANT~~ party, he hath given full power to his catholic subjects to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength, except those of the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of all English ~~PROTESTANTS~~ within the kingdom of Ireland.—The first report of this commission was instantly encountered by a proclamation of the lords justices, in which they warn the subjects against the delusion of false and seditious rumours, derogatory to the honor of the crown; declare that they have full authority to prosecute the rebels; in the king's name command those who have been seduced, to forsake all traitorous counsels; and denounce all the terror of authority against those who shall refuse to accept the royal mercy.

Depositions, MS.

Carte.
Nelson.

At this day, when the virulence of party has subsided, and men can dispassionately review the characters both of Charles and his opponents, the very terms in which this instrument is conceived, may be sufficient to discredit it; and indeed prove it to be a forgery and a forgery precipitately and injudiciously devised. At the end of this unhappy war, the rebel leaders, their clergy, their agents all uniformly declared that they had no commission from the king, but had invented the tale to collect and animate their followers. The dying declaration of lord Macguire disclaimed any commission from the king. Sir Phelim O'Nial on his trial and at his death, was tempted to confess that he had acted by authority of Charles, and to produce the proof of his commission. On his trial, he peremptorily declared that *he never had received any commission*. He explained the means by which his Irish followers were deceived; he declared, that in ransacking the castle of Charlemont,

mont, he found a patent of lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great seal, and affixed it to a forged commission. At the hour of his execution he persisted in a solemn disavowal of ever having received any commission from the king, for levying or prosecuting the war of Ireland *.

THESE positive evidences are corroborated by some incidents already mentioned, though hitherto unnoticed by any historian; the declaration of O'Nial, on the surprisal of Charlemont, that he acted by authority of the English parliament; the sudden change on the ensuing morning, and the new pretence of a royal commission; a parchment displayed, but no inspection suffered; a lapse of seven days before the publication of an instrument so essential to the interest of the insurgents. Another circumstance has escaped the observation of the most zealous partizans of Charles, and yet seems not unworthy of notice. Scarcely had this pretended commission been promulged, when, as if it had been considered as a mere temporary expedient for operating on the ignorant Northerns, another manifesto appeared; in which there is not the least mention of a point so material as a commission from the king; and which is conceived in such terms as seem purposely calculated to correct the errors of the former publication. It is so different from the first declaration

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* It seems scarcely necessary to strengthen this positive evidence, by an incident mentioned by Mr. Carte.—That about six years before the publication of his *Life of Ormond*, the very patent from which the great seal was torn, and which contained a grant of some lands in the county of Tirone, was produced on a suit of law, at the assizes of Tirone, by the late lord Charlemont, having on it evident marks of the seal being torn off, and an endorsement proving the fact; and was allowed by the judges as authentic.—The memory of this transaction is only preserved in the general and uncontested tradition of the county. I have not been able to procure any positive evidence of it. My dear and honoured friend, the present earl of Charlemont, has no patent in his possession answering to this description.

ration of the rebels, "that it seems," saith Mr. Carte, "to be the work of Roger Moore, who "having escaped from Dublin, and fled into the "county of Wicklow, made all the haste he could "from thence to Sir Phelim, who, he knew, wanted judgment to conduct an enterprize of such "consequence."

In this manifesto the rebels complain of oppressions suffered by the Roman catholics; professing, at the same time, an inviolable loyalty to the king. While they acknowledge to have enjoyed some indulgence by his princely goodness, they represent the parliament of England as wresting the king's prerogative from his hands, denouncing utter extirpation against the catholics of Ireland, encouraging petitions against the papists, and PROTESTANT prelates of this realm, to root out the one, and to depose the other. They complain that the government of Ireland has been successively committed to the hands of indigent and rapacious ministers, who, by inventions of fraud and oppression, had pillaged every order of subjects; so that their estates and consciences were exposed to the same tyranny. They declare, that as they have no hopes from his majesty, oppressed and despoiled as he was, by the arrogance of faithless and disloyal subjects, they had of necessity taken arms, in defence of themselves and of the royal prerogative; they had seized the strongest forts of the kingdom, to be enabled to serve his majesty, and to secure themselves against the tyrannous resolutions of their enemies; professing that they were ready to yield up those places at his majesty's command, when a course should be taken to secure them, and the PROTESTANTS of the kingdom, his only true and obedient subjects, against the factious and seditious puritans.

THIS manifesto was evidently calculated to cast that specious colouring on their cause, which might strike the more intelligent and less violent of the discontented party. In their pretended commission
from

from the king, they censure the conduct of protestants, and declare that they had taken arms against the protestant party. But this was soon discovered to be precipitate and injudicious; for the Irish catholics of those days affected to consider the word **PROTESTANT** as a designation peculiar to the members of the established church. They deigned not to call the puritans by this title. So that in their first declaration, published in the king's name, no mention was at all made of those whom it was their interest to consider as their only enemies. In their manifesto the error is corrected. They represent their own religion, and that of the established communion, exposed to equal danger; and as they had formerly united with the puritans in their parliamentary transactions, and practices in London, so they now affect to form a new union against them, and to open their arms to every friend of prelacy and prerogative. The insurgents of Longford proceeded yet further. Instead of confining themselves to formal expressions of loyalty, they transmitted to the state an oath of allegiance which they had taken, together with their list of grievances, and their propositions for redress. They complained of the penal laws; the severity of inquisitions, and avoiding of letters patent; the restraint upon the mere Irish of purchasing lands in the escheated counties; and the odious incapacity imposed on papists, of enjoying the honors and immunities of free subjects, without violence to their consciences. They proposed that a general act of oblivion should pass, without any restitution, or account of goods taken in the present commotion; that the penal laws of Elizabeth should be repealed by parliament, and an ample charter of denization granted to the mere Irish. Their demands, however unreasonable, were explicit and defined; while the Ulster rebels made no particular propositions, but left themselves at liberty to prolong their war, by a perpetual suggestion of new dangers, fears, and jealousies. The
immedi-

Carte
Nelson.

immediate objects of their solicitude was to procure foreign succours, and to engage the Pale in their rebellion. Richelieu amused them with magnificent promises of assistance. The negotiations of Roger Moore, and his practices with the inhabitants of the Pale, were as yet without effect.

Carte.

Nor did the progress of their northern war correspond with the rapidity of their first successes. The English gentlemen in different parts of Ulster quickly recovered from the first violent surprize, and took the necessary measures for defence. Carricfergus was the great northern asylum for those wretched fugitives who escaped the fury of the rebels, or were driven from their habitations. Chichester, the governor, collected, encouraged, and armed them. In other towns, not surprised by the rebels, measures were taken for defence; and the friends of government, though not as yet regularly authorised to command those forces they had raised, yet ventured to march out against the enemy. At Lisburn, or Lisnegarvy as it was then called, a body of one thousand was collected; and though not sufficiently disciplined or obedient, served to terrify the scattered parties of the rebels. They were defeated in some skirmishes at Dromore; but wreaked their brutal vengeance on the inhabitants when the English were obliged to abandon this town. A commission, received from the lords justices, empowered colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyringham to command in the county of Antrim. They appointed a governor and garrison for Belfast; they stationed a party at Lisburn; they supplied Sir William Brownlow with ammunition for the defence of his castle and the town of Lurgan; they strengthened Derry, and stationed a garrison in the castle of Augher, which gallantly sustained a storm, and repelled the rebels.

A MESSENGER, dispatched by Chichester to the king, arrived before the express of the lords justices, and

and returned with assurances of speedy relief. Charles had immediately communicated his intelligence from Ireland to the Scottish parliament, in expectation that their zeal for religion, and abhorrence of popery, would at once rouse them to the defence of their afflicted brethren in the neighbouring kingdom. But in this case, their zeal was not enlivened by interest or faction. Their general professions were fair and plausible, but attended with pretences of delay and doubt. They required more particular information of the Irish commotions: they affected to apprehend that the English parliament might be offended at their forwardness, should they prepare for the relief of Ireland without their knowledge and concurrence; and therefore determined, in the first place, to treat with the parliament in London. Charles, however mortified at this coldness, contrived, by the assistance of some experienced officers lately disbanded, to collect fifteen hundred of their old soldiers. These were instantly dispatched to his loyal commanders of Ulster, together with arms, ammunition, and some money procured by the assistance of the duke of Lenox.

EVEN this small supply served to animate the northern gentry. They had received commissions from the king; so that they were now doubly authorised to command those, whom at first they could but exhort to defence. Wherever the English inhabitants were embodied, their success discovered the fatal error of their conduct on the first surprize. In Fermanagh, the rebels were forced to raise the siege of Enniskillen; and lord Macguire's own castle was taken by storm. In Tirone, Sir Phelim O'Nial was driven with disgrace and slaughter from the siege of Castle-Derric. In Donegal, he received another defeat; his forces were repelled in various attempts, and their leaders returned, in the vexation of repeated disappointment, to his camp at Newry.

YET, not humbled by these petty defeats, and confident in number of those barbarous followers, M.S. Relation of the fight at Liscannore, whom garry.

whom the hopes of plunder were daily alluring to his service, he still determined to strike at the very head of northern loyalty, by investing Carricfergus. For this purpose, it was previously necessary to reduce Lisburn, a powerful Scottish settlement, (for the pretence of leaving the Scottish settlers unmolested, was soon forgotten.) Hither he detached a well appointed body of four thousand. The town had already sustained a violent assault: but relying on the strength of his party, and his intelligence with the Irish inhabitants, O'Nial was now confident of success. Happily Sir Arthur Tyringham had brought a seasonable reinforcement to the garrison; and at the very moment of danger was assisted in his dispositions by the arrival of Sir George Rawdon, an eminent English settler and gallant officer. The attack was violent; it was sustained and repelled with steadiness and vigor; the repeated efforts of the besiegers but encreased their confusion and swelled the numbers of their slain: and this body of rebels, the first that bore the appearance of a regularly formed army, was finally put to shameful flight, and with so great a slaughter, that the English boasted that the number slain in the assault trebled that of the whole garrison.

BUT such successes were attended with consequences truly horrible. The Irish, incensed at resistance, carried on their hostilities without faith or humanity. Lurgan was surrendered by Sir William Brownlow, on terms of security to the inhabitants, and permission of marching out unmolested with his family, goods, and retinue. All were instantly seized, and the whole town given up to plunder. But such instances of perfidy are scarcely to be regarded, when the more enormous barbarities of the rebels obtrude themselves on our view. At every instance of his ill-success, Sir Phelim O'Nial was either transported to the utmost pitch of malicious phrensy, or so alarmed at the well-known instability of his followers, that he determined with an infernal

nal policy, to plunge them so deep in blood as to render their retreat or reconciliation with government utterly impracticable. On the repulse of his forces at the castle of Augher, he ordered his execrable agent, Mac-Donnel, to massacre all the British protestants in three adjacent parishes. The defeat at Lisburn provoked this savage and his barbarous followers to a degree of rage truly diabolical. Lord MS. De- Caulfield, who had been conveyed to one of the positions, houses of O'Nial, was wantonly and basely murdered. Fifty others, in the same place, fell by the poniards of the Irish. Their miserable prisoners, confined in different quarters, were now brought out, under pretence of being conducted to the next English settlements. Their guards goaded them forward like beasts, exulting in their sufferings, and determined on the destruction of those who had not already sunk under their tortures. Sometimes they enclosed them in some house or castle, which they set on fire, with a brutal indifference to their cries, and a hellish triumph over their expiring agonies. Sometimes the captive English were plunged into the first river, to which they had been driven by their tormentors. One hundred and ninety were at once, precipitated from the bridge of Portadown. Irish ecclesiastics were seen encouraging the carnage. The women forgot the tenderness of their sex; pursued the English with execrations, and embrued their hands in blood: even children, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless prisoners.

THEY, who escaped the utmost fury of the rebels, languished in miseries horrible to be described. Their imaginations were overpowered and disordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery. In their distraction, every tale of horror was eagerly received, and every suggestion of phrensy and melancholy believed implicitly. Miraculous escapes from death, miraculous judgments on murderers, lakes and rivers of blood, marks of slaughter indelible by every human effort, visions of spirits chaunting hymns, ghosts

ghosts rising from rivers and shrieking out REVENGE; these and such like fancies were propagated and received as incontestible.

AN enthusiastic hatred of the Irish was the natural and necessary consequence. The British settlers who were sheltered in places of security, forgot that their suffering brethren had, in several instances, been rescued from destruction, and protected by the old natives. Their abhorrence was violent and indiscriminate; and it transported them to that very brutal cruelty which had provoked this abhorrence. The Scottish soldiers, in particular, who had reinforced the garrison of Carricfergus, were possessed with an habitual hatred of popery, and enflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated, not only by the sufferers, but by those who boasted and magnified their barbarities. In one fatal night they issued from Carricfergus into an adjacent district called ISLAND-MAGEE, where a number of the poorer Irish resided, unoffending, and untainted by the rebellion. If we may believe one of the leaders of this party, thirty families were assailed by them in their beds, and massacred with calm and deliberate cruelty. As if the incident were not sufficiently hideous, popish writers have represented it with shocking aggravation. They make the number of the slaughtered, in a small and thinly-inhabited neck of land, to amount to three thousand; a wildness and absurdity into which other writers of such transactions have been betrayed. They assert that this butchery was committed in the beginning of November; that it was the first massacre committed in Ulster, and the great provocation to all the outrages of the Irish in this quarter. * Mr. Carte seems to favour this assertion. Had he
care-

* His words are these—"Whether the slaughter made by a party
" from Carricfergus, in the territory of MAGEE, a long narrow is-
" land running from that town up to O'eder-street, (in which it
" is affirmed that near three thousand harmless Irishmen, women,
" and

carefully perused the collection of original depositions now in possession of the university of Dublin, he would have found his doubts of facts and dates cleared most satisfactorily; and that the massacre of Island-Magee (as appears from several unsuspecting evidences) was really committed in the beginning of January, when the followers of O'Nial had almost exhausted their barbarous malice.

"and children, were cruelly massacred) happened before the surrender of Loargan, is hard to be determined: the relations published of facts in those times being very in-distinct and uncertain, with regard to the time when they were committed; though it is confidently asserted, that the said massacre happened in this month of November."

—The reader of Ireland, who may have curiosity to enquire after these authorities, on which I have stated this transaction differently and with more precision, will find them among the depositions of the county of Antrim, from the middle to the latter part of the volume. MSS. TRIN. COL. DUB.

C H A P. IV.

Conduct of the lords justices . . . Intelligence of the rebellion received by the English parliament . . . Their resolutions . . . Mode and spirit of their procedure . . . Flame of rebellion extended . . . State of Munster . . . Services of the Earl of Clanricarde in Connaught . . . The lords justices recall the arms they had distributed . . . repeat their proclamation against any resort to Dublin . . . Their insidious manner of offering pardon to the rebels . . . They oppose the meeting of a parliament . . . Allow a session of one day . . . Transactions of the parliament . . . Agents sent to the king . . . Private representations of the lords justices . . . The agents and their papers seized by order of the English commons . . . Rebels elated . . . Reject overtures of accommodation . . . Directed by Roger Moore . . . Frame their oath of association . . . Provoked by the cruelties of Sir Charles Coote . . . March to invest Drogheda . . . Animated by their victory at Julian's-Town Bridge . . . Moore's practices in the Pale at length successful . . . Meeting and interview at the Hill of Crofty . . . Seven noblemen and their adherents of the Pale declare for war . . . Lords of the Pale summoned by the state . . . Their answer . . . Replies . . . Addresses of the lords to the king and queen . . . They concert their operations . . . Proclamations signed by the king . . . Insurrection in Munster . . . The leaders . . . their procedure . . . success . . . and dissension . . . Drogheda invested . . . Defence of Drogheda neglected by the state . . . Unsuccessful attempts to surprise the town . . . Skirmish at Swords . . . Ormond marches to Naas . . . His spirited answer to lord Gormanstown's menace . . . Reinforcements from England . . . Distresses of the army . . . Ormond commissioned to march to the Boyne . . . Siege of Drogheda raised . . . Ormond forbidden to pursue the rebels . . . General disposition of the Pale to be reconciled to government.

ment. . . . Displeasing to the lords justices. . . . Their prisoners racked. . . . Motives and consequences of this procedure. . . . Insurgents of the Pale driven to desperation. . . . Battle of Kiltrush.

DURING the progress of these northern commotions, the lords justices confined their attention to their own security, and that of the capital. The numbers of wretched fugitives who sought ^{Temple,} shelter in Dublin, from their merciless enemies, exhibited a spectacle of affecting distress, and seemed to demand some vigorous measures for suppressing a rebellion conducted with such virulence. The earl of Ormond, who was appointed lieutenant general of the army, declared for marching instantly against the rebels, with such forces as might be spared from the defence of Dublin. A considerable part of the ^{Carte's} army was assembled; new regiments and companies ^{Ormond,} were raised; the royal magazines sufficiently ^{and Let-} supplied; the main body of the rebels, which lay in the county of Louth, wretchedly provided and dispirited. Yet the lords justices contented themselves with dispatching Sir Henry Tichburne, with his regiment, to secure Drogheda from any attempt of the rebels, who, to the number of four thousand, lay at Athirdee, seven miles distant from this garrison.

Irish insurrections had been frequently suppressed by such numbers as Ormond now proposed to employ, when the danger was encountered with spirit and alacrity. But the present chief governors were determined against every spirited measure. They pleaded a want of arms to furnish the soldiery; a pretence so false and frivolous, that every military man stood astonished at their supineness. Some imputed it to timidity, and a solicitude for protecting their possessions in the capital. Others imagined, that they envied the earl of Ormond, and dreaded that his success might be rewarded with the lieutenantancy

nancy of Ireland. They, who looked more nearly into their characters and principles, conceived, and not without reason, that they by no means wished to crush the rebellion in its beginnings, but were secretly desirous that the madness of the Irish might take its free course, so as to gratify their hopes of gain, by new and extensive forfeitures. Nor did the deeper politicians scruple to insinuate, that these cold and reserved governors acted by directions from the reigning faction of England.

Rushworth. **Nelson.** THEIR chief dependence indeed was on the English parliament. Owen O'Connolly had delivered his dispatches to the earl of Leicester on the last day of October: they were communicated with great solemnity to the commons; and received with an affectation of terror and astonishment. A message from the king recommended the affairs of Ireland to his parliament; an expression which they determined to accept in the most extensive sense. The important charge of suppressing a popish rebellion they assumed to themselves: in the first ardour of zeal, they resolved to support the Irish war, by a supply of two hundred thousand pounds. Fifty thousand of this sum were borrowed from the city of London; and out of this loan twenty thousand pounds assigned for the immediate service of Ireland. The commons further resolved, first, that six thousand, afterwards, that ten thousand infantry and two thousand horse should be raised for the Irish war. Leicester was empowered to grant commissions for the immediate levy of a part of this force: but the commons insisted, that the list of officers to be employed, should be first laid before the house for their approbation. They resolved, that a convenient number of ships of war should be stationed on the coasts of Ireland; magazines formed, and transports provided for the conveyance of men, arms, and ammunition. To the king's council it was referred to consider of some fit way for publication of rewards to those who should do service in the Irish expedition;

tion; of pardon to those rebels who should submit within a limited time, and of sums of money to be given for the heads of such of their leaders as should be nominated. At the same time, they directed that all papists of distinction in England should be secured; that ambassadors should give up those of their popish priests who were subjects of the king; that an account should be taken of those attendant on the queen; and that all strangers, not of the protestant religion, should immediately return their names, and time of their intended residence, or else depart from the kingdom.

BUT, instead of minutely detailing the proceedings of this famous assembly, it seems sufficient for the present purpose to mark their temper, the general mode and spirit of their procedure, and the influence of these upon the affairs of Ireland.

FIFTEEN memorable years of contest between the unhappy Charles and his subjects, had gradually reduced the state of England to a situation the most critical. The popular leaders had triumphed over the weakness and instability, and even the obstinacy of the king. If grievances were redressed, they had experienced his insincerity. If their own measures of opposition had been irregular, or strictly illegal, they might hereafter feel the weight of power. They determined to seek their own security by possessing themselves of the sovereignty of the state: they pleaded the necessity of effectually securing the subject, not by circumscribing, but abolishing the royal authority. An enthusiastic passion for the presbyterian discipline was countenanced and encouraged, diffused through all orders of the nation, mixed with all their concerns, and had an especial and violent influence on their political pursuits. The king, who, from inclination and necessity, supported the hierarchy, became doubly odious; and the religious abhorrence of the hierarchy was increased by that support which it afforded to the royal authority.

Both

Both were now destined to destruction; and they who were more moderate politicians, or had not fully imbibed the fashionable spirit of religion, were to be seduced to a concurrence with designing, artful, or fanatical leaders.

EVERY device was practised to confirm and enflame the suspicions entertained of the king. The famous REMONSTRANCE was prepared, in which the whole series of misconduct; the long detail of unconstitutional measures adopted by Charles, were collected into one offensive view. Rumours of danger, of conspiracy, of invasion, were industriously propagated. Pretended plots were discovered, and the most extravagant suggestions of fraud or credulity accepted and encouraged. A virulent abhorrence of popery, a dreadful apprehension of popish agents, and their designs, resounded from every quarter. At the very moment when the more moderate part of the nation grew disgusted at fictitious plots, and senseless rumours, intelligence was received of a popish rebellion in Ireland: it was spread abroad with hideous aggravation, and seemed to realize the wildest suspicions and reports of danger. The peculiar guilt of some Irish catholics was attributed to the whole sect in both kingdoms. The people, ever accustomed to join the prelatical with the popish party, were easily persuaded that this horrid insurrection was the result of their united counsels. They heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for their violences. Bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to the gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy king with the whole enormity of the contrivance. If the more sober and considerate could not, at once, be persuaded that Charles had actually given a commission to despoil and murder his subjects, yet such were their unfavourable sentiments of this prince, that they suspected that a rebellion, raised

raised at such a juncture, was not wholly owing to the discontents of the Irish, but had secretly been excited or encouraged by the king, to find the parliament employment, and divert them from their designs against his power. With such impressions upon their minds, they saw danger in every proposition made by Charles for suppressing the rebellion of Ireland. His solicitude for the welfare of his loyal subjects of this kingdom, was converted into an insidious scheme of exhausting England of its arms and treasure, and involving the parliament in a war, expensive and embarrassing.

THE Commons had frequently encroached on the executive power of the crown; but with regard to Ireland, they assumed it at once, by virtue of that expression whereby the king recommended to them the care of this kingdom. Had Charles been able to contest this usurpation, it must have exposed him to the reproach of favoring the progress of the odious rebellion.

WHEN the leaders had once formed their project of farther innovations, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with respect to Ireland should be considered as subordinate to that great design on which their power, their security, and their very being entirely depended. They affected the utmost zeal against the Irish insurgents: but the Irish insurgents served as a pretence for securing to themselves a superiority in those commotions, which they foresaw must soon be excited in England. If any violent point was to be gained, the Irish rebellion was a ready instrument of their purposes. If they were opposed in any favorite design, it was imputed to the influence of the malignant party, encouraged by the popish rebellion of Ireland. If recusants were to be seized, if they were to continue guards about the house of common, the Irish rebellion was the cause. It was the burden of every petition, for new modelling of religion, for subverting
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ing episcopacy, for putting the nation in a state of defence; for removing evil counsellors, for guarding against papists and their adherents.

In the extremity of that contempt which the popular leaders entertained for the natives of Ireland, they conceived that it would be easy, at any time, to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom; nor were they willing to relinquish, by too hasty a success, the advantage which that rebellion would afford them in their intended encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the dependence of every man who had any connexion with Ireland, or was desirous of serving in this kingdom. They levied money, under pretext of the Irish expedition; but they reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly. They took arms from the royal magazines, but with a secret purpose of employing them against the king. Whatever law they deemed requisite for aggrandizing themselves, was voted under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland. If Charles withheld his assent, the refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest throughout the king's dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent to Ireland, and little money remitted during the extreme distress of this kingdom, yet such was the general attachment to the commons, that the fault was never once imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but destruction to the Irish rebels.

Carte.
Orm.

In the mean time, the lords justices of Ireland waited within their walls, in expectation of supplies from England; while the flame of insurrection began to spread more widely. The Irish inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, provoked at the extensive English plantation formed on their lands, had soon followed the example of the Northerners. The sept of O'Byrne, in the county of Wicklow, still

still smarting with remembrance of the horrid injustice and persecution they had sustained from Parsons, united with their Irish neighbours in the adjoining counties of Wexford and Carlow. They seized forts, drove the English protestants from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the walls of Dublin. The justices had thus an additional pretence for denying any assistance to the distance provinces. In Munster, Sir William Saint Leger, the lord president, a soldier of activity and experience, and possessed even with an inveteracy against the Irish, could not obtain either arms or soldiers sufficient for a time of peace, much less for a juncture of distraction and disorder. Yet the strength of the English protestants, and the loyalty of the Irish gentry, as yet preserved this province from any material disorder.

THE peace and security of Connaught were equally neglected by the chief governors, although the English power was inconsiderable in this province, and the Irish natives kept in continual alarm for twenty-five years, by the project of a general plantation, which, though suspended, had not been formally relinquished. Yet here too the good affections of the principal inhabitants stemmed the torrent of rebellion. Jones lord Ranelagh, the president of Connaught, was effectually assisted by lord Dillon of Costello, and lord Mayo, whom the rebels, in their first conspiracy, had claimed as their partizan. But the most respected, most powerful; ^{Carta.} and most effectual friend to government in the wes- ^{Orm.} tern province, was Uliac, earl of Clanricarde and Saint Alban's; who, with the old inhabitants, enjoyed the consequence of a chieftain, and with the English, all the reverence and dignity of a great English nobleman, distinguished by his illustrious connexions, by the favor of the king, but chiefly by his own excellent and exalted endowments. He had opportunely retired to his Irish mansion of Portumna, at the first rise of the rebellion; and, possessed with the most delicate sentiments of honor

and loyalty, and particularly attached, by personal affection, to the king, he exerted himself with especial zeal to preserve the peace of his own county, Galway, and of the neighbouring districts. He found the inhabitants possessed with dreadful apprehensions, that the present commotions of the realm might be used as a pretence for withholding the king's graces, and depriving them of that legal confirmation of their estates which they had so long expected from the loyal promise. He laboured to dissipate these apprehensions, which might have a dangerous influence. He procured a declaration from the king, that all his former promises should be fully performed to every loyal subject. He raised troops, strengthened the fort of Galway, made a progress through the county, inspected every post, encouraged the loyal, terrified the disaffected. But the earl of Clanricarde, with all this zeal and activity, with all the exalted qualities which form a distinguished character, was a Roman catholic, and therefore hated and suspected by the state. Every assistance was denied him, and every occasion seized to mortify and disgust him.

THE lords justices, and their puritanic adherents, were the more encouraged to reject the assistance of all those who were not of their own party, by the spirited assurances of support which they received from England. The declaration of the English commons for maintaining the war of Ireland, was received with joy, as an earnest of immediate succours, and spread triumphantly through the kingdom. In the insolence of their expectations, the justices immediately recalled those arms which they had entrusted to the nobles and inhabitants of the Pale. While they thus left them defenceless, they deprived the best affected of all hopes of refuge from the violence of the rebels and robbers; for they issued a new proclamation, whereby all persons, except the ordinary inhabitants, were commanded, on pain of death, to depart from Dublin within twenty-four hours,

hours, and not to presume to approach within two miles of the city. The pretence for this rigorous prohibition was, that by the great concourse to the capital, the country was deprived of defence; its operation, if not intended, could scarcely be unforeseen. It forced the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts to a perpetual intercourse with the rebels, to support them by contributions, and sometimes to unite with them, in order to avert their cruelty.

In another instance, the conduct of these wretched governors was still more suspicious. The parliament of England had recommended the offer of a general pardon to such rebels as should submit within a certain time, to be limited by the lords justices. No proclamation was published, no pardon offered, in consequence of these instructions. To palliate this omission, they pleaded the inefficacy of their former proclamations; the first of which only called on the king's subjects to abandon the rebels, without any positive assurance of mercy: the other offered a pardon, not to the rebels of Ulster, where the insurrection chiefly raged, but to those of Longford and Louth, Meath and West-Meath. In the two last counties no body of rebels had appeared. And, if any outrages or insurrections were to be suppressed, the lords justices contrived to defeat the effect of their pardon, by exceptions and conditions. All freeholders of these four counties, all who had shed blood in any action, all who were in prison for spoil or robbery, were expressly excluded from mercy. To others, it was tendered on condition of their submitting within ten days after the proclamation, and of restoring all the property they had seized, which had quickly been dispersed through various hands. Such a proclamation was evidently absurd and insidious. A pardon offered in the name of the English parliament, must have had greater influence than any act of an Irish ministry, despised and suspected by the body of the nation. But the chief governors and their creatures were confident of support,

port, and experienced in the art of converting forfeitures to their own advantage.

Carte.
Orm.

AGREEABLY to the general tenor of their conduct, they obstinately opposed the sentiments of the wisest and most moderate of all parties in the kingdom, in one particular of especial moment. On the commencement of the rebellion, the Irish parliament, formerly adjourned to November, had been prorogued to the twenty-fourth day of February: a measure highly displeasing to the catholics. They were impatient for those laws which were to confirm them in their lands, and dreaded that this delay, and the still encreasing power of the popular party in England, might defeat the gracious intentions of the king. For this, the Irish insurrection might afford a plausible pretence. All of their communion were considered by the Irish parliament as involved in the guilt of rebellion. It was their interest to seize the earliest opportunity of making some solemn declaration of their loyalty and solicitude for the peace of Ireland; and whether they were sincere or not, it was both equitable and politic to allow them this opportunity. They urged, that in a time of danger, the national assembly should be immediately convened. Their lawyers suggested that the prorogation was illegal, and that, unless the houses should hold a meeting on the day to which they had been adjourned, the parliament would be really dissolved. The judges seemed to favor this opinion: the earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Costello, and others of approved loyalty, though no favourers of the justices and their faction, contended for an immediate session and continuance of the parliament. They urged the danger of enflaming the public discontents, and of driving numbers into rebellion by any farther suspension of the royal graces; the ease and security with which the parliament might be assembled in a city now so well provided with forces as Dublin; the mortification and discountenance

tenance which the rebels must receive from any zealous declarations against their outrages, and any spirited resolutions to oppose them; but above all, the essential service to the state, from the supplies which loyal subjects must cheerfully grant on an emergency so critical, and which even the secretly disaffected would not venture to oppose, lest they should betray their principles at the moment when they were actually in custody of the state.

SUCH remonstrances had little weight with an administration indifferent to public jealousies and complaints, and, if not averse to suppressing the rebellion, at least averse to suppressing it by any resources which Ireland might supply. They declared obstinately for adhering to the prorogation: yet the doubts expressed by the judges, and the force with which the opposite opinion was defended, at length extorted a concession, that the parliament should be suffered to meet immediately, for one day, on condition of publishing a protestation against the rebels; and that they should have liberty to depute some of their members to treat about an accommodation with the rebels, to receive their grievances, and to transmit them to his majesty.

SUCH members of both houses, as could be immediately collected, were admitted into the castle of Dublin, when the lords justices had first drawn out their guards, and taken every scrupulous precaution to allay their own fears. The houses proceeded directly to consider the state of the nation, and to frame their protestation against the REBELS. The leaders of the insurrection, affected the utmost indignation and disdain at this odious appellation. Those members whose estates lay most exposed to their depredations were not willing to exasperate them: they who secretly favoured their enterprize, and they who were originally consulted, and had assisted in concerting it, all spoke with lenity and caution: they declared against describing the insurgents by any more offensive designation, than that of the DISCON-

TENTED

Borlase. TENTED GENTLEMEN; and by this suspicious tenderness and indulgence, redoubled the terror of the chief governors. But the protestant party was spirited and powerful, and by their interposition and support, the declaration of parliament was drawn up with sufficient force and precision. It declared, "their abhorrence of the DISLOYAL and REBELLIOUS proceedings of persons ill-affected to the peace and tranquillity of the realm; who, contrary to their duty and loyalty to his majesty, and against the laws of God and of the realm, have TRAITOROUSLY and REBELLIOUSLY raised arms, seized his majesty's forts, and castles, dispossessed, spoiled, and slain his subjects, and committed other cruel and inhuman outrages:" together with their resolution of maintaining "the rights of his majesty's crown and government of the realm, against the persons aforesaid, and their adherents: as also, against all foreign princes and potentates, and other persons and attempts whatsoever; and in case the persons aforesaid do not lay down their arms, and sue for mercy, in such time and manner as by his majesty, and the chief governors and council of the realm shall be set down, that they will take arms, and with their lives and fortunes suppress them and their attempts, in such a way as by his majesty's, or the chief governor's approbation, shall be thought most effectual."

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HENCE they proceeded to nominate some members of each house to treat with the insurgents. They were authorised, (directions from the king or the state of Ireland being first received) to confer with the rebels of Ulster, and other parts, touching the causes of their taking arms; to report all matters to the king, the council, or the parliament, and to proceed therein according to the king's pleasure, or directions of the council. These proceedings could not be completed in one day; a second was, with difficulty, allowed: they petitioned for a longer session,

session, but the lords justices were inexorable. They promised, indeed, that the term of prorogation should be shortened; but determined, by practising in England, to elude the performance even of this promise. The parliament was provoked; men of every order and party clamored against this obstinacy, which discovered a general suspicion of all Irish subjects, and a contempt and disdain of their services. It was resolved to assist the governors even against their will. The parliament empowered them to collect forces, and to assess and levy money for their support.

At the same time, a considerable party, well affected to the king, sensible that the present insurrection however unwarrantable, had not been entirely unprovoked, and convinced that it might be speedily suppressed by a timely exertion of that force which Ireland could supply, resolved to convey their sentiments to the royal ear, without the intervention of chief governors, whom they despised and suspected. Lord Dillon of Costello was commissioned to present their memorial to the king, containing grievous complaints against the lords justices, and recommending that the earl of Ormond should be substituted in their place; a measure most effectual to allay the fears and jealousies of the nation, and to suppress the rebellion, though no assistance should be sent from England. They also, probably, recommended a speedy confirmation of those graces which were to secure the civil interests of the Irish subjects, with other measures for restoring public peace, not entirely agreeable to the views of their present governors, or the passions of the popular party in England.

THE crafty Parsons, and his pliant colleague, were alarmed at this design, and determined to counteract it. Their agent was dispatched to the leaders in the English commons. In a private letter to the earl of Leicester, signed only by themselves and their junto, they declared that they could not depend on the other members of the council, nor open themselves

selves before them with that freedom which suited their station and duty. They desired that no attention should be paid to the instructions or representations of lord Dillon, or to any councils tending to possess the king with a persuasion, that his Irish subjects were sufficient to reduce the rebels, a work only to be effected by English forces. They expressed their hopes, that the state of England would not be deterred by the expence of an armament necessary to the very being of an English government in Ireland; an expence which would be fully repaid not only by the peace and reformation of this kingdom, but by the great encrease of revenue arising from the estates of those who were actors in the present mischiefs. These representations determined the fate of lord Dillon's embassy. He embarked together with lord Taaffe; was driven by storm to the coast of Scotland; hasted towards London; and was seized at Ware, by order of the commons, his papers taken away and industriously suppressed. The two lords were committed to custody, till it was of no consequence to restrain them any longer; when, being negligently guarded, they contrived to escape, and attended the king at York, too late to offer their propositions.

THE rebel leaders quickly discerned the advantage they derived from the prorogation, and were industrious to improve it. Roger Moore, who, with Brian Mac-Mahon, an Irish commander of some note, lay near Dundalk, at the head of about two thousand five hundred ill-armed men, was particularly elevated at the prospect of general discontent and clamor, arising from this repeated disappointment of a people impatient for a confirmation of the king's graces. The deputation of parliament addressed themselves to him and his associates. He received them with coldness and disdain: the order of the houses for their treaty with the rebels he tore to pieces, with an affected indignation at the injurious terms in which it was expressed; and proudly rejected every overture to an accommodation,

tion. The state even deigned to employ some Romish priests to mediate a peace; but, as they probably foresaw, without any good effect. Moore, the great agent and director of the rebels, redoubled his assiduity. He cautiously advised them to suppress all national distinctions, all declarations against the English; to rest the whole merits of their cause on the civil and religious rights of the king's subjects of Ireland, which were to be defended against their numerous enemies only by force of arms. He pointed out the danger which especially threatened their religion. The virulence expressed against popery by the English parliament, their sanguinary prosecution of popish ecclesiastics, their passionate declarations against any tolerance of popish error, in any part of the king's dominions, the terrible denunciations against all of this communion by particular zealots, their intemperate menaces of persecution and extirpation, all served to awaken the fears, and to enflame the resentments of the Irish, and were all pleaded in defence of their hostilities. Moore now dignified his followers by the name of the CATHOLIC ARMY: and published an oath of association to be taken by all insurgents, purposely calculated to possess the nation with favourable sentiments of their cause, their motives, and pursuits.

NOR were the rebels less encouraged by the delay of English succours, and the scandalous timidity of the chief governors. They had shrunk within their walls, and quietly beheld those depredations which had been committed through the whole vicinity of the capital. They were at length forced to some exertion of their powers, by repeated insults. Sir Charles Coote was a soldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth, morose, insolent, and cruel; provoked, particularly, by the ravages made in his estates, which he acquired by various projects, and impatient to avenge them on the Irish, against whom he had imbibed the most illiberal and inveterate pre-

judices. This man was employed by the chief governors to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the castle of Wicklow, which they had invested. He executed his commission; repelled the Irish to their mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the Northerners. This wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying, served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation.

Carta.
vol. i. p.
239.

p. 243.
Temple.

Nov. 29.

UNDISMAYED, confident, and exulting, notwithstanding their disgraces in the northern province, they drew down a considerable force, in order to form the siege of Drogheda. Their numbers struck a general terror, and were increased by those who were compelled to unite with them, in order to avert their outrages. A small body of six hundred foot and fifty horse, composed principally of the despoiled English, undisciplined and inexperienced, was detached from Dublin to reinforce the garrison at Drogheda. About three miles from the town, they were suddenly encountered by two thousand five hundred of the rebels, and defeated with an inconsiderable loss, except of arms and ammunition. The incident seems scarcely worthy of being recorded. Yet the defeat of Julian's-Town Bridge, as it was called, had no inconsiderable effect. It gave reputation to the rebels, and added greatly to their numbers. They no longer doubted of reducing Drogheda, and marching with their united forces to invest the capital. Whole companies and regiments of the royal army deserted, and joined their standards. The English inhabitants of Dublin were in consternation; the disaffected party insolent and elevated: men of speculation contended, that if the rebels had collected their forces, and marched directly to Dublin, they must, in the present consternation, have been speedily masters both of the city and castle. But they amused themselves with investing

ing the town of Drogheda: while the justices, in their terror, recalled Sir Charles Coote from his expedition into Wicklow. He forced his way through one thousand of the sept of O'Toole, who opposed his march, returned, was created governor of Dublin, and applied himself to secure this city against every possible attempt.

HITHERTO, the rebellion, however formidable, was confined to the province of Ulster, some few counties in Leinster and that of Leitrim in Connaught; and carried on, entirely, by the mere Irish. The beginning of the month of December opened a more extensive and alarming scene, by the defection of the inhabitants of the English Pale, as it was called.

If the old English race settled in this district had not entirely disapproved the original scheme of taking arms, they were more refined, and therefore less violent than the mere Irish: they were under the more immediate inspection, and more accessible to the power of government; they were possessed of valuable estates, and therefore, the more cautious of engaging in any enterprise of violence and hazard. But they had their prejudices and discontents. The lords justices regarded them with suspicion, as Irishmen; with abhorrence, as Romanists. The manner in which they had granted them some arms was ungracious; the recalling these arms, provoking; and by excluding them from Dublin, they left their persons and possessions defenceless against the rebels; and at the same time, deprived them of refuge. To determine them to take arms, little more ^{Temple.} was necessary than to exasperate and enflame their ^{Carte.} resentments; and, for this purpose, Roger Moore was a powerful, and insinuating, and indefatigable agent.

He addressed himself particularly to lord Gormanston, a nobleman of especial power and influence, and not unacquainted with the first conspiracy. He had artifice to give the fairest and most captivating colour to the cause in which he was engaged. He represented the danger which threatened all their
civil

civil and religious rights; the obstinate determination of a puritanic faction to frustrate all the king's gracious intentions of indulgence to the religion, and security to the possessions, of his Irish subjects; the still encreasing power of this faction in England, and their gradual inroads on the royal authority; the inveteracy they expressed against all catholics; the insolent and injurious exclusion of Irish students from the inns of court, by virtue of the late edict against foreign catholics; the horrid severities exercised on their clergy in England; the imminent danger of some sanguinary scheme to extirpate all of their communion. He inveighed, with a well-affected disdain, against the insolence and tyranny of the lords justices, those wretched creatures of the king's enemies, who had filled their coffers by iniquity, were capriciously and wantonly vested with power, and presumed to look down with scorn upon the old nobility of Ireland. He enlarged on the justice, the glory, the necessity of rising in defence of the king's prerogative, and the rights of the people; the fair prospect of success, from the encreasing disorders of England, which must deprive the puritanic justices of all succours, and from the general discontent so justly conceived by all the Irish subjects.

Such representations, urgently and repeatedly enforced, at length made their full impression. The inhabitants of the Pale had already rendered themselves obnoxious to the severity of the law, by receiving and entertaining rebels: however they might plead the necessity arising from their situation and circumstances, yet they deemed the present chief governors capable of seizing every rigorous advantage; and persuaded themselves, that their own safety required an immediate concurrence with the insurgents. The defeat of the English convoy near Drogheda was an event sufficient to confirm and hasten their resolution. Lord Gormanston, who took the lead in their proceedings, issued an order to the sheriff of Meath to collect the inhabitants of this

this county. The lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimbleston, Netterville, together with about one thousand principal gentlemen assembled on an eminence called the Hill of Crofty. Here they were met, agreeably to the plan concerted, by Roger Moore, and other rebel leaders, attended by a detachment of their forces. The Meathians advanced; and Gormanston with great solemnity demanded for what purpose they had entered the Pale in arms. Moore replied, that they had taken arms for maintenance of the king's prerogative, and to make the subjects of Ireland as free as those of England. He was again required to declare, whether these were their real motives, without any private or sinister views. On his earnest asseveration of sincerity, Gormanston and his party declared, that they would unite with them for these purposes, and prosecute all those as enemies who should refuse to assist their righteous cause. The interview was closed by the appointment of another meeting to be held at the Hill of Tarah,

Thus did the address and assiduity of Roger Moore prevail over the weak counsels of the lords justices, and at length effected this important union, at the moment when the state deigned to concert some measures for preventing it. About the time of this assembly, letters were dispatched from the justices and council to the nobles of the Pale, requiring their speedy attendance in Dublin, to confer upon the state of the kingdom, in this time of danger, and *for no other end*: (as they added in their letters, with a manifest consciousness of being suspected.) The justices, in their dispatches to England, assign a reason for this summons; that, on the increasing power of the rebels, and the general weakness and consternation of the loyalists, they hoped, that being for a while assisted by these noblemen, they might gain some respite, until the arrival of their English succours. That they really intended to employ them seems scarcely reconcileable to their former

former conduct. If, at such a juncture, they meant to seize their persons upon bare suspicion, the consequence was obvious, and must have been intended. The whole Romish party would have taken fire at once, and rushed into the most desperate courses. Possibly they acted with the inconsistency and instability of persons who had no settled scheme of conduct. But, whatever were their motives, the catholic lords had already taken their party; and affected to put the most malignant construction on this summons. The principal business of their second meeting was to return an answer to the state. They declared, that their advice for the safety of the kingdom had been heretofore received so unfavourably, that they had reason to conceive their loyalty was suspected: that they were now deterred from waiting on the lords justices and council, by information of certain speeches uttered at their board by Sir Charles Coote, tending to a design of executing a general massacre on the catholics; which determined them to stand on their guard, until they might have assurance of protection; protesting, however, that they would continue faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of his majesty's service.

THIS answer was followed by a proclamation, utterly denying that any expression had been heard, of this horrid import, from Coote or any other person; disclaiming a design so odious, so impious, as that of massacre; repeating the summons to the lords, to repair to the council board; and assuring them of safety and protection.

BUT these lords had already proceeded too far to retreat; and for the interest of their cause, it was necessary to charge the lords justices with insidious designs, and to inveigh against the inhumanity of Coote, their favorite agent. A detachment had been sent to quell some ravagers at Santry, a village on the north of Dublin: they executed their orders

orders with severity; and killed some few, without distinction of the innocent and criminal; the cruelty was imputed to Coote. To chastise some plunderers at Clontarffe, he ravaged and burned the whole neighbourhood; and particularly set fire to the mansion house of one King, at the very time he was summoned to appear before the state, with an assurance of protection. It is ridiculous to compare such severities with the barbarous executions of the northern rebels; yet their new allies of the Pale exclaimed, in such pathetic terms, against these acts of cruelty, that the state deemed it necessary to publish a proclamation, to justify their conduct and refute malicious calumnies.

THE catholic lords, having thus renounced the ^{Carter} authority of government, and determined to recur to arms, thought it necessary, in the first place, to prepare an apology for their revolt, to be transmitted to the king. In this they enlarged on all the injuries they had received from his Irish governors, who had compelled them to unite with the Ulster forces, a body of subjects, who, they were convinced, had taken arms only for defence of the royal prerogative, and the preservation of the liberties, religion, estates, and persons of his faithful subjects, the catholics of Ireland. To this they added a petition, that his majesty would make no worse construction of their conduct, than their affection merited, no worse than that of other subjects, who had taken the same measures, on occasions less pressing and afflicting. They entreated him to grant them a free parliament, in which their oppressions might be manifested and redressed: and, in the mean time, to command a cessation of hostilities on either side. By another letter to the queen, they implored her mediation and good offices, for obtaining their just request. They were, at the same time, obliged to take some notice of the last proclamation issued by the chief governors. Their manifesto expressed the utmost respect to the state.

state. They acquiesced in the declaration, that Coote had not been heard to express any intentions of massacre; but insisted, that they had the utmost reason to apprehend the most dreadful consequences from his cruelty. They declared their readiness to attend such commissioners as the lords justices should appoint, (at any place sufficiently removed from the power of Sir Charles Coote,) with whom they would cheerfully confer, on the means for advancing his majesty's service, and restoring the peace of the kingdom. Hence they proceeded to raise their forces. Without deigning to march under the standard of the Ulster Irish, they levied troops for their own purposes, and chose their own commanders. Lord Gormanston was declared their general in chief; the earl of Fingal general of horse; every barony of Meath was charged with levying and maintaining a number of soldiers; captains were chosen for each district; applotments settled for corn and cattle to be furnished to the army; the avenues to the capital were blocked up, and the farmers strictly forbidden to carry their corn to Dublin.

Carta.
Dec. 14.

THE lords justices, in their dispatches to the earl of Leicester, expressed the utmost contempt of this defection of the lords of the Pale, as an event which only added seven persons to the rebels, and who by this open avowal of disloyalty were become less dangerous than they might have proved by dissimulation, and secret correspondence with the Northerners. Yet, as the rebels had originally pleaded the king's commission; and as their associates now professed such zeal for his support and authority, they proposed that a proclamation should be issued against the rebels, immediately in the king's name, but couched in such terms as might not at once wipe away their offence, by laying down their arms; and that twenty copies of this proclamation, signed with his name, and sealed with his privy signet, might be transmitted, in order to be dispersed through Ireland,

Ireland. The proclamation, in the most explicit terms, pronounced the insurgents to be rebels and traitors against the king, and enemies to the royal crown of England and Ireland; and twice the number required by the justices were signed and sealed by the king, and returned to Ireland without any considerable delay* Jan. 1.

But, however the chief governors affected to despise the defection of these seven lords of the Pale, it was an event of moment. They did not, indeed, at once rush into the excess and outrage of the northern insurrection; they did not even join the standard of Roger Moore, and his less barbarous associates: on the contrary, they laboured to retain their followers under the sole guidance of lord Gormanston. They professed to take arms only in self-defence; to wish and to solicit a speedy and effectual accommodation. But by this apparent temper and dignity of conduct, by their fair declarations of loyalty, by the zeal which they affected for the redress of grievances, they made a dangerous impression on all the catholics of Ireland. Their manifestos were sent into Munster and Connaught, to all the trading towns and sea-ports. Chiefly they insisted on the dangerous conjunction of the Irish governors with the popular party of England; and the dreadful scheme of extirpation formed against all those who should refuse to abandon the Romish communion. Indiscreet and virulent expressions uttered by the justices and their creatures, were industriously

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* The real nature of this transaction, which occasioned such a clamour in England, is here stated plainly and truly. The number of copies required by the lords justices, and even the number transmitted by the king, could by no means have answered the purpose of a general notification through the kingdom of Ireland. This the justices must have known: and the extraordinary care which Charles expressed, that not one copy more than forty should be printed, was a circumstance sufficient to raise suspicion in the minds of the English, even if they had not been so enflamed as at this juncture, and so disposed to think unfavourably of the king's secret designs.

ously propagated, and made a violent impression in the remote quarters of the kingdom.

Carte.

THE contagion of rebellion was by these means quickly spread through Connaught; so that it required all the credit and power of the earl of Clarricarde to preserve his county of Galway untainted. In Munster, the first symptoms of commotion appeared in some petty ravages and robberies, which were punished by the lord president, Sir William Saint Leger, with a barbarous severity. The disaffected remonstrated to Saint Leger on the rigor of his executions; were received with disdain and insolence; pleaded the necessity of self-defence, and declared for war. Lord Mountgarret seized the

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city of Kilkenny: Waterford was yielded to his son: almost all the relations of the earl of Ormond were involved in the torrent of rebellion; and a report was industriously propagated, that the earl himself only waited a fair opportunity of declaring for the insurgents, and had already taken their oath of association. Almost every fort and castle in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary, were in a few days reduced: while the county of Clare was over-run by the O'Briens, in defiance of their chieftain, the earl of Thomond.

Carte.

In this sudden and violent commotion, the southern leaders, however provoked by the cruelties of Saint Leger, yet expressed a laudable solicitude to preserve both the persons and the fortunes of the English from any outrage. Yet the barbarity of their followers was not always effectually restrained: in the fury of revenge, in the rage of rapine, or the inveteracy of superstitious prejudice, some slaughters were committed. But neither the vices nor the virtues of humanity were confined to one party, or one profession. The fanatic fury of Saint Leger and his train, was no less horrid than the most brutal outrages of the rude Irish. If, in the execution of martial law, he spared neither sex nor age; his countrymen frequently expressed a generous indignation

dignation and horror at his barbarity. If those of better condition among the insurgents sometimes joined in the rapine of their followers, lord Mountgarret shot his friend to death, when he could not otherwise restrain him from plundering. If some popish ecclesiastics preached their horrid doctrines of blood and massacre, others were known equally zealous to moderate the excesses of war, to protect the English, and to conceal them from the fury of the enemy, even in their places of worship, and under their altars.

WHILE the Irish forces over-ran almost the whole ^{Carta} province of Munster, and their leaders were providing for a regular and permanent war, the lord president was abandoned to his own resources. He was, indeed, commissioned to raise a new regiment of foot, and two troops of horse: but he was not supplied either with arms or provisions. He kept at wary distance, without attempting to interrupt the progress of the enemy. Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and all the richest and most important places of the south, lay open to receive them. With the most flattering prospect, and animated hopes of success, they prepared to complete the reduction of Munster; when, happily for the English interest, their leaders were seized with a sudden spirit of disunion and discontent. Maurice lord viscount Roche and Fermoy, a nobleman of power in the county of Cork, refused to be commanded by Mountgarret, insisted that his county should have its particular general, and was supported in the demand by his numerous partizans. Lord Mountgarret retired in discontent to the county of Kilkenny. The nobility of Munster, left to their own conduct, continued their competitions and disunion, till Saint Leger gained time to arm and discipline his men, to collect and encourage the English, and thus to draw out, early in the spring, such a body as opposed the enemy in the field, and saved the province.

DURING

Carta.

DURING these transactions of the south, the Ulster rebels, and those who had united with them, from Leinster, were engaged wholly in the siege of Drogheda. The success of this enterprize was to open them a way to the walls of Dublin, and of consequence, to decide the fate of Ireland. The town was by no means strong, or well provided. On the first alarm from the North, the governor, Sir Faithful Fortescue, had received a small reinforcement from lord viscount Moore; he prepared for defence, represented to the state the necessity of an additional succour, and offered even to raise soldiers at his own expence. His zeal was applauded, but he found his services by no means acceptable. Discouraged, and disappointed of supplies, he resigned his command; and Sir Henry Tichburne, a more adventurous officer, was sent to succeed him. The forces which attended the new governor, those raised in the town, and those which escaped from the defeat of Julian's-Town Bridge, were still thought incompetent for the defence of Drogheda. Lord Moore proposed to raise and maintain six hundred men, until money should be received from England, on condition that they should be afterwards incorporated into a regiment under his command. Ormond approved the proposal, but the lords justices rejected it; and Tichburne was left to maintain this important station as he might.

HAPPILY, the Irish army commenced their enterprize in a season of severity. Neither their skill nor provisions were sufficient for the regular conduct of a siege. They wanted artillery, ammunition, and all the necessary instruments of war: they had, no tents to cover their men from the inclemency of winter: they were, therefore, forced, instead of making an encampment, to quarter their army in the neighbouring villages, and there to wait any opportunity which accident or treachery might afford them, to surprise the town. This disposition, how
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rude soever, was sufficient to reduce the garrison to the most afflicting distress. Twenty thousand men, encompassing the city, cut off all communication and supplies, at a season when an extraordinary provision was required to qualify the soldiery for the hardships of their duty. The men deserted; the officers were discontented. A small supply of victuals and ammunition was at length sent from Dublin, and received with such an extravagance of joy, that a party of the besiegers, after some fruitless efforts, was admitted into the town, by the treachery of some inhabitants. Had they proceeded with the necessary vigor, they might have easily overpowered a careless and intoxicated garrison: but their own irresolution gave time to Sir Henry Tichburne to collect his men, and to expel the enemy. A second attempt was repelled with equal vigor: and the superior numbers of the besiegers were soon found to be less formidable, than the prospect of famine, and those numerous diseases arising from unnatural and unwholesome sustenance. Sir Phelim O'Nial conceived the utmost hopes from the distresses of the garrison, and hastened to the North to provide forces and artillery for a storm: Tichburne was resolute to endure the utmost distress; active in skirmishing with the enemy, successful in his excursions for forage and provisions; so as to be enabled to maintain the town, until a fresh supply of bread, and four companies of foot were sent to his relief. *Carta.*

THE lords justices, in the mean time, were engaged by an object, to them more interesting than the relief of Drogheda; the legal conviction of the lords and gentlemen engaged in the insurrection; a measure previously necessary to the forfeiture of their estates. The arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men, encouraged them to a little more activity in their military operations. Coote was dispatched to dispossess a party of rebels stationed in the village of Swords. His skirmish was distinguished by the fall
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of Sir Lorenzo Cary, younger son to lord Falkland, formerly the chief governor of Ireland. The rebels were routed, and the whole adjacent country wasted by fire and sword. Oote fulfilled the commands of state, to pillage, burn, and destroy, with an unfeeling rigor: and, in the execution of martial law, consulted his resentments more than the necessity of the public service. Ormond was detached with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, against the town of Naas, where the rebels of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, collected their chief force, and held their councils. He executed his orders with more humanity and prudence, yet with a severity sufficient to afford the rebel leaders a pretence for complaint. Lord Gormanston remonstrated by letter, against the cruelty of his procedure: if continued, he threatened the earl, that his wife and children should answer it. The reply of Ormond is worthy to be recorded. By permission of the council he wrote to Gormanston: he reproached him with his disloyalty; vindicated his own conduct from false aspersions; boldly declared his resolution of prosecuting the rebels at the hazard of every thing dear to him; and never to be terrified into any mean disavowal of whatever he should act, in pursuance of his majesty's commands. "My wife and children," said he "are in your power. Should they receive any injury from men, I shall never revenge it on women and children. This would be not only base and unchristian, but infinitely beneath the value at which I rate my wife and children."

A SECOND reinforcement from England, of fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horse at length arrived in Dublin, after a tedious interval of expectation. The commanders, Sir Richard Grenville and colonel George Monk, brought neither money nor provisions: so that the encrease of the army aggravated the distresses of the state; distresses which the lords justices had partly occasioned, by the havoc

rock made through all the districts adjoining to the capital. The English soldiers, unused to severities, oppressed with want, and disease, the consequence of unwholesome diet, deserted in considerable numbers; the more patient and robust supplied their necessities by robbery and plunder. To prevent a dangerous mutiny, it was determined to employ them. Ormond was again commissioned to drive the rebels from a station within seven miles of Dublin, called Kilsalaghen. His orders were to burn and destroy their haunts, and to kill all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms: but his proceeding was more moderate: nor were these petty excursions deemed by military men sufficiently interesting, when the gallant forces of Drogheda were surrounded by enemies, and exposed to the utmost severities of toil and famine.

THE army was now deemed strong enough to raise the blockade of Drogheda; and the disgrace and danger of suffering the rebels to reduce this city were urgently enforced. The lords justices, still averse Carta. to any vigorous operations, affected to dread the numbers of the enemy, not composed of ordinary or mercenary men, but of noblemen, gentlemen, their tenants and dependents, all engaged voluntarily and zealously in the insurrection. Such representations were plausible to the English officers, not so well acquainted as the chief governors with the real character of the Irish, their instability, and readiness to abandon their leaders, on the least reverse of fortune. And if the attempt seemed dangerous, the consequences of a miscarriage were highly alarming. The justices, however, could not deny the necessity of sending the soldiers from Dublin, to seek provision in the quarters of the enemy. It was resolved, instead of making a formal attempt to relieve Drogheda, to try the effect of a diversion. The earl of Ormond was commissioned to lead three thousand foot, and five hundred horse towards the river Boyne, and to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition; and

and he was strictly enjoined, on no account, to pass the river. Scarcely had the justices granted this commission, limited with such abundant caution, when they repented; and employed their agent, but in vain, to persuade the earl to relinquish the enterprize, and commit the soldiers to the guidance of Sir Simon Harcourt.

Whatever were the professions of the chief governors, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebels. The futility of their pretences and affected fears was instantly discovered. Sir Phelim O'Nial had been repeatedly foiled in his attacks, by the vigour of Sir Henry Tichburne: numbers of his men, and some of his bravest officers, had been lost by the spirited sallies of the garrison: his hopes were confounded: his adherents dismayed: and the very first intelligence of Ormond's march determined him to raise the siege, and retire precipitately to the northern province. This extraordinary event was conveyed by Ormond to the lords justices. He represented the necessity of pursuing the rebels vigorously in this their consternation; desiring, for this purpose, that his commission might be enlarged, and that he might be permitted to continue his march to Newry. The justices and their creatures received the intelligence with evident vexation and disappointment. They were provoked at the overture of the earl of Ormond: they repeated the injunction, that he should not pass the Boyne, without deigning to offer any reason for this unaccountable restriction. On his arrival at Drogheda, he conferred with the officers of the garrison: with their concurrence, he made another effort to be permitted to confirm the total overthrow of the rebels, and to crush their enterprize at once, by a vigorous pursuit: but the chief governors were inexorable. The rebels soon recovered from their consternation, collected their men, regained the places they had abandoned; so that Sir Henry Tichburne was obliged, on the re-
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turn of Ormond, to exert his utmost vigour to prevent Drogheda from being again invested. He defeated a considerable party of the enemy near Athirdee; and, as no positive restriction had been laid on his conduct, he marched to Dundalk, and drove the rebels from this town. The justices condescended to permit the earl to furnish him on this occasion with five hundred men; but denied him the provisions necessary for pursuing his advantage.

THIS sudden flight of the northern rebels was attended by a circumstance highly displeasing to the lords justices, and repugnant to the private schemes and wishes of their party. The insurgents, of the Pale had, for the most part, affected to stand separate from the Irish of Ulster: they were offended at their insolence, and shocked at their barbarities. Their dastardly retreat, at the very first alarm of danger, confirmed the suspicions entertained of these allies. Several gentlemen of the Pale were suddenly awakened by this incident, to a sense of their own temerity; resolved to submit, and solicited to make their peace with government. They addressed themselves to Ormond, on his march to Drogheda. The earl in his dispatches desired instructions, in what manner he was to treat those who surrendered: and as the justices, in the proclamation whereby they declared certain persons to be rebels, had forbore to mention the names of any peers, he required a particular direction as to the execution of his orders for burning and destroying; and whether he was to shew the same deference to the seats and possessions of these lords, as the state had already vouchsafed to their persons.

EXTENSIVE forfeitures were the favorite object of the chief governors and their friends. The commons of England had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the escheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the rebellion of Ireland: and they had lately proceeded in a scheme for raising money from the lands thus

expected to escheate. A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums, for suppression of the rebels, (as was pretended) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new English plantation. It evidently tended to exasperate the malecontents, and to make all accommodation desperate; but it was not on this account less acceptable to the popular leaders. The king foresaw, and regretted these consequences; but he was reduced to an humilitating state of submission; and consented to a bill which gave strength to his opponents. Their creatures in the administration of Ireland proceeded, at the same time, indefatigably, in procuring indictments, not only against open rebels, but those whose conduct had been at all suspicious: and the fury of their prosecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale*.

Carte.

THEY who had not engaged in actual hostilities, they who were only accused of harbouring, or paying

* If this severity was not dictated by the popular leaders in the English commons, it was at least highly acceptable to them, and favourable to their designs. Some reasons, however, were to be assigned for it: and these are industriously collected, in a letter of the justices to the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant. They are drawn from consideration of the mistaken lenity of the state on former rebellions; the extent and inveteracy of the present; the aversion of the Irish to the nation and religion of the English; the necessity of establishing the British power in Ireland upon a firm basis, and of perfecting such a general plantation through the whole kingdom, as had been established by the late king in Ulster. The letter, however addressed to the lord lieutenant, was really intended for the English commons, and contained their favourite principles and topics with respect to Ireland. These zealous reformers had formally accused lord Strafford of advancing that traitorous position, that Ireland was a conquered country. Now, it is urged and accepted, as an heinous charge against the Irish insurgents, that to extenuate their rebellion, they had presumed to assert, that Ireland was not a conquered country. Such is the ease with which statesmen can affirm or deny the same general positions, just as their immediate purpose requires.

ing contributions to the rebels, crowded to the earl of Ormond, and claimed the advantage of the royal proclamation. The lords justices, who not only favored the designs of their friends in England, but expected to have their own services rewarded by a large portion of forfeitures, resolved to discourage these pacific dispositions. Ormond was directed to make no distinction between noblemen and other rebels, to receive those who should surrender only as prisoners of war, and to contrive that they should be seized by the soldiers, without admitting them to his presence. They who were sent, in custody, to Dublin, though men of respectable characters and families, engaged in no action with the rebels, some sufferers by their rapine, averse to their proceedings, known protectors of the English, were all indiscriminately denied access to the justices, closely imprisoned, and threatened with the utmost severity of law.

THERE is little doubt, but that Parsons at least, the more active and intriguing governor, held a regular correspondence with some popular leaders in the English commons, by means of a trusty agent dispatched for this purpose to London. The war between Charles and his parliament was on the point of flaming out in all its violence. His adversaries redoubled their assiduity to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. He had repeatedly expressed the utmost ardor for the service of Ireland: he had proposed to march in person against the Irish rebels. But what the noble historian acknowledges, did not escape the sagacity of his enemies, that this overture was nothing more than "a stratagem, to compose the houses to a better temper, upon the apprehension of the king's absence, and the inconveniences that might thence ensue." To efface the impressions made by his declarations of zeal, a bold effort was to be made, to revive the rumour of some commission or allowance clandestinely granted to the rebels.

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Clarendon, *Mem.*
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THE Irish chief governors were the willing agents in this design. They were, at the same time, impatient for some interesting discoveries relative to the extent of the original conspiracy, and if possible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of first contriving and concerting the insurrection. For these purposes, they resolved to supply the want of legal evidence, by putting some prisoners to the rack. They began with Hugh Mac-Mahon, who had been seized on the information of O'Connoly, and from whom they expected some important discoveries. But torture could force nothing from him essential to their great purpose. "He had been told that application was to be made to the king for a commission; he had been promised, that such a commission should be produced; but he had never seen any commission:" such were the nature and substance of his answers. Sir John Read was then racked. He had been gentleman of the privy-chamber to the king, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army raised against the Scots. He had been chosen by the inhabitants of the Pale, on their taking arms, to convey their remonstrance to the king; had given notice of his intended journey to the lords justices, was invited by them to repair to Dublin, and confer with the council; was the first to inform Ormond of the flight of the Northerns from Drogheda; had been conducted by his order to Dublin; but was instantly imprisoned: the letters addressed to his majesty were seized, and carefully suppressed: and now he was importuned on the rack, with such interrogatories as tended to criminate his royal master. The malice of the justices was again disappointed; but not yet exhausted or discouraged. Patrick Barnewal was their next victim; a gentleman venerable for his age, and respectable in his character. His only guilt was, that he had attended the meeting at the Hill of Crofty, and had been appointed by the insurgents to a command, without ever acting, or uniting with the rebels.

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Carte.

bels. He endured the torture with so steady an avowal of his innocence, and such abundant evidence was offered in his favor, that the justices were ashamed of their cruelty; and, to make some amends to the unhappy gentleman, he was permitted to reside in Dublin, and his estate protected from the general havock of the soldiery.

ALTHOUGH the king's character and conduct had not been materially impeached by these severe proceedings, yet the popular partizans of England derived some advantage from them. The examinations of the prisoners, or such parts of them at least as the justices thought fit to be selected, were carefully transmitted to the English parliament. Rumors were spread abroad, that they contained intelligence of great moment, and highly reflecting on the king's honor. But no particulars were divulged. None of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to a view of these examinations. His secretary applied in his name to the lords justices, for copies: but they were totally devoted to his enemies, and forbore to communicate them to the king. The people were, in general, too violent, and too prejudiced, to perceive that this extraordinary reserve was really a proof that no charge of authorizing or countenancing the rebels had been established against Charles.

It was natural for the king, on such an occasion, to express the greater zeal for the service of his good subjects of Ireland. By a message to the two houses ^{Husband's} of parliament, he formally declared a firm resolution ^{Collect.} of going with all convenient speed to Ireland, to chastise those detestable rebels; of raising a guard for his person, and even of selling or pledging his parks and houses, if necessary, for this service. The lords justices were alarmed: they sent the most discouraging representations to his majesty of the weakness and distresses of the army of Ireland, and the exhausted state of the country, where, they plainly insinuated, that the king could not appear with safety

safety to his person, comfort to his subjects, and terror to his enemies. But the peremptory and insulting answer of the English parliament, and the menaces with which they insisted that his design should be relinquished, had a still greater effect. The king's declarations of marching against the rebels were no longer heard, but in his replies to the parliament.

THE last hopes which the gentlemen of the Pale conceived of an equitable accommodation with government, were from the expectation of the king's presence in Ireland. These hopes were now defeated. They had precipitately involved themselves in the guilt of rebellion. Every possibility of retreat was rendered desperate by the treatment of those who had already surrendered. The favorite object, both of the Irish governors and the English parliament, was the utter extermination of all the catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out, and allotted to their conquerors: so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin. Lord Gormanston was so affected by the melancholy state to which he had principally reduced himself, his family and friends, that grief soon put a period to his life. His associates grew desperate and violent, abandoned all thoughts of treaty or pardon, and relied solely on their arms.

THEIR Ulster confederates had abandoned them: they, therefore, united with the lord Mountgarret and his associates, and soon brought the courage of the royal forces to a trial seemingly dangerous and desperate.

THE earl of Ormond, with three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and five field pieces, was detached into the county of Kildare, to destroy the possessions of rebels; to relieve the castles still encompassed by their scattered parties; and to strengthen the loyal garrisons. Such were the petty expeditions which suited the genius and views of the chief governors. On his return to Athy, he received
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Carte

Ibid.

intelligence, that Mountgarret, attended by the lords Dunboyne and Ikerrin, Roger Moore, Hugh Byrne, and other rebel-leaders of Leinster, lay at the head of eight thousand foot, and some troops of horse, posted to advantage, at a distance of four miles. It was resolved in a council of war, that, as their numbers were diminished by garrisons, harassed, encumbered, and ill-provided, they should by no means hazard an engagement, unless the enemy should oppose their march to Dublin. They proceeded on their march with necessary precautions, and were so closely pressed by the rebels, that an engagement became unavoidable. But the spirit of the Irish seemed exhausted in the boldness of their attack. Their left wing was broken by the first charge: their right, animated by their principal leaders, maintained the contest for some time, retired in good order to a neighbouring eminence, but here broke at once, and fled precipitately. Seven hundred of their number were killed, with an inconsiderable loss on the part of the English. The victory was rendered of consequence, by the total dispersion of the rebel forces: but Ormond had neither provisions nor ammunition necessary for improving it.

An account of this action, called the battle of Kilrush, was transmitted to the English commons, and published with great solemnity. Their encomiums on the earl of Ormond were speedily followed by an order of their house, that five hundred pounds should be expended on a jewel to be bestowed on his lordship; and that the lords should be moved to unite with them in a petition to the king, that his majesty would be pleased to create him a knight of the Garter.

C H A P. V.

Distress of the kingdom....State of Leinster....of Connaught....of Munster....Death of Saint Leger....He is succeeded by lord Inchiquin....Lord Forbes....His procedure....Battle of Liscarrol....Monroe and his Scottish forces arrive in Ulster....Cruelty and consternation of the rebels....Inactivity of Monroe....Earl of Antrim seized....Sir Phelim O'Nial defeated....Loyalists of Ulster restrained by the earl of Leven....Rebels distressed....They prepare to abandon Ireland....Prevented by the arrival of Owen O'Nial....Arrival of the earl of Leven....His sudden return to Scotland....Superiority of the rebels....Arrival of Preston and his forces....Synod of the Romish clergy....Their ordinances....Supreme council, and general assembly of Kilkenny....Their order of government, and oath of association....They chuse provincial generals....They petition the king and queen....Discontent and death of Roger Moore....Loyalty of the earl of Clanricarde....Earl of Castlehaven unites with the confederate Irish....Practices of the English parliament with the army of Ireland....Defeated by the earl of Ormond....who is created a marquis....Practices of the lords justices....of Reynolds and Goodwin....Discontents of the military officers....Their complaints conveyed to the king....Situation of Charles....He is disposed to an accommodation with the rebels....His commission for receiving their propositions....Opposed by the lords justices....Spirited orders of the king....Ormond declines the post of lord lieutenant....His first treaty with the confederate Irish....Their pride....They are made more tractable....A meeting appointed at Trim....Progress of the treaty displeasing to the lords justices....They project an expedition....Ormond takes the command of it....Battle of Ross....Distress
of

of Dublin . . . Interview at Trim . . . Complaints and demands of the Irish . . . Their remonstrance transmitted to the king . . . Opposed by the lords justices . . . Their violences . . . Sir William Parsons removed from the government . . . The king orders a treaty of cessation . . . Circumstances of the kingdom justify this measure . . . Expedient of the new justices for support of the army . . . Progress of the treaty with the Irish . . . Cautious procedure of the marquis of Ormond . . . He is disgusted with the pride of the Irish . . . Suspends the treaty . . . Endeavours to come to an engagement with Preston . . . but in vain . . . The king renews his orders for a treaty of cessation . . . Parsons and his associates imprisoned . . . The Old Irish averse to any treaty . . . The more moderate of the confederacy prevail . . . Treaty of cessation signed . . . odious to many in Ireland and England . . . Declaration of the English parliament against the cessation.

EVERY part of Ireland was now exposed to the miseries of a wasting war, carried on in the usual course of Irish wars, in times more remote and barbarous. The insurgents in different quarters followed their respective leaders, without any general union, command, or direction, or any scheme of general enterprize. We are obliged to view them separately in the different provinces: nor shall we find, in any of these such extensive and important operations as merit a particular detail.

IN Leinster, the loyal inhabitants were still harassed by detached parties of the rebels, who ravaged their possessions, and besieged their castles. The arrival of lord Lisle son to the earl of Leicester, with nine hundred men, encouraged the chief governors to make some effort to repress these outrages. The Lady Offaly * was
VOL. III. Y relieved

* This lady was a daughter of the house of Kildare, and relict of Sir Robert Digby. The title of Offaly properly belonged to the eldest son of the earls of Kildare; but she assumed it by special favour

Carte.
Orm.

relieved in her castle of Geasell; Sir John Gifford in Castle-Jordan; the rebels were driven from Trim: the state reluctantly consented to station an insufficient garrison in this town, which was attacked by a numerous body of the rebels. In repelling them, Sir Charles Coote, their inveterate enemy, was slain; an incident not displeasing to the chief governors, who dreaded his enterprizing spirit, and were still anxious to prevent a too vigorous prosecution of the rebels. The extreme caution of their proceedings against a necessitous and frequently-defeated enemy, was encreased, and in some sort justified, by the present circumstances of their army. Every petty detachment sent from England served to aggravate the distresses of the soldiery, by lessening their scanty provisions. The officers clamoured for their arrears; the men, without pay or clothing, weakened by unwholesome diet, marching through hard and craggy roads, with their feet bare and bleeding, sunk in great numbers, under their misery and fatigue. The more robust survivors grew mutinous. The troops lately arrived shared the common distress, but with greater impatience. In the peevishness of disappointment, they insulted the old army; they reproached them as Irishmen and rebels; and such vulgar pride frequently produced alarming quarrels. But as the state could

your of king James. Her answer to the summons of the rebels was conveyed in a letter not unworthy to be recorded.

"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle
"by his majesty's authority. I am, and ever have been, a loyal subject and a good neighbour among you, and, therefore, cannot but
"wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy,
"wherein I hold little safety. And therefore, my resolution is, that
"being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of
"you, I will live and die innocently; and will do my best to defend
"my own, leaving the issue to God. Though I have been, and still
"am desirous to avoid the shedding of christian blood, yet, being
"provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me.

LETTICE OFFALLA."

could not pay their soldiers, it was impossible to restrain them within the bounds of discipline. In this situation of affairs, an Irish parliament sat for three days in Dublin. By expelling the members actually in rebellion, and by excluding those who refused to take the oath of supremacy, they were reduced to an inconsiderable number. Yet they breathed the utmost fury against the Romish party, declared for a rigorous execution of penal statutes, and urged, both to the king and English parliament, the necessity of new and severe laws against recusants. The English parliament echoed these sentiments. The bills were prepared for transmission, and the utmost vengeance denounced against popery; as if their sole purpose were to exasperate the insurgents to the utmost, or as if they had been already completely reduced.

CONNAUGHT had been kept tolerably quiet, by ^{Orm.} the prudence of lord Ranelagh the president, and ^{Carte.} the authority and diligence of the earl of Clanricarde, till the defection of the Pale enflamed the discontented spirits of this province. Mayo and Roscommon were now infested by insurgents; a body of savage Irish issued from a mountainous tract, called Ire-Comnaught, and harassed the loyal districts: even the town of Galway betrayed its disaffection, and, under pretence of injuries received from the governor, besieged the fort, and reduced the English garrison to distress. The earl of Clanricarde hastened to their relief; and although his force was utterly unequal to that of the citizens and their associates, he yet contrived to terrify them into an accommodation. It was agreed, that all hostilities should be suspended, and that the town should be taken under his majesty's protection, until his royal pleasure should be known. This event served to discourage the western rebels, and disposed them to desire a like cessation; which was recommended by Clanricarde as a means of giving them some leisure to reflect on their precipitate conduct, to recal them to their allegiance, and to prevent the desolation of the

the kingdom. But the chief governors were actuated by different motives. They severely condemned the protection granted to Galway: their orders were express and peremptory, that the earl should receive no more submissions: every commander of every garrison was ordered not to presume to hold any correspondence with Irish, or papists; to give no protections, but to prosecute all rebels and their harbourers with fire and sword. In the execution of these orders, the justices declare, that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women and sometimes not the children*. A violent and positive agent of the parliamentary faction, laboured, by instruction, or at least with the connivance of government, to break the late pacification of Galway, and to provoke the citizens to renew their hostilities. Clanricarde was irritated, but his diligence in the service of the crown by no means relaxed. The insurgents grew desperate, and threatened the whole province with their tumultuous numbers. The lord president was besieged in the city of Athlone. But a small sum of money, and some additional forces sent from England, emboldened the lords justices to dispatch the earl of Ormond to his relief. At his approach the enemy retired: the justices, who dreaded that the earl might proceed to some exploits of real moment, recalled him hastily to Dublin.

In Munster, Sir William Saint Leger, the lord president, was reduced to the most alarming difficulties: without arms or provisions for his soldiers; and

* By such severities, the names of Grenville, Sir Frederick Hamilton, and others, became as odious to the Irish, (and with equal reason) as those of O'Reilly, Macguire, or O'Nial had been to the English. Among the several acts of public service performed by a regiment of Sir William Cole, consisting of five hundred foot and a troop of horse, we find the following hideous article recorded by the historian Borlase, with particular satisfaction and triumph.

Starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized on by this regiment—Seven thousand.

and his soldiers, even if well appointed, yet utterly insufficient to defend the province. The rebel-leaders had been reconciled, and joined by lord Muskerri, a branch of the noble Irish family of Clancarthy. The president, notwithstanding a reinforcement of one thousand men received from England, was obliged to seek shelter in Cork, was besieged, and on the point of being overwhelmed, when the action of Kilrush served to weaken and dispirit his assailants. He sallied out, and routed the besiegers; but scarcely could provide subsistence for his soldiers; far from being enabled to lead them against a flying enemy. He heard of the reduction of the fort of Limerick by the rebels, a station of the first consequence in the kingdom. Mortified, disappointed, and deserted, he suffered his vexations to prey too violently upon his spirit. A lingering malady, the effect of anguish, at length put a period to his life; and the command of the province devolved on lord Inchiquin, a nobleman of the illustrious house of O'Brien.

INCHQUIN had the same difficulties to encounter, Carte, and the same zeal for the royal service. He repeatedly solicited the English parliament for supplies; and, at length received ten thousand pounds, a sum just sufficient to keep his forces from perishing, without enabling them to take the field. The arrival of lord Forbes at Kinsale with twelve hundred men, seemed to promise some auspicious events. He had been appointed by the English parliament, without participation of the king, to command some forces raised by contributions of the adventurers. Fully possessed with the puritanic spirit, and influenced by the fanaticism of his chaplain, the famous Hugh Peters, he disdained to unite with the Irish however loyal, or with any not of the godly. After some depredations, in which he made no distinction between rebels and loyalists, and after sustaining some loss and disgrace in his excursions, he re-embarked, and proceeded to the bay of Galway. With

With the utmost intemperance and extravagance of conduct, he pointed his hostilities chiefly against those who were most distinguished by their loyalty; he laboured to break the late pacification of Galway, and to reduce the citizens to a new species of submission; to acknowledge themselves rebels, and to beseech his majesty to intercede with the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND for their pardon, and to admit no governors but such as the king AND THE STATE OF ENGLAND should appoint. But neither his intrigues nor his military operations were successful. Without performing any service against the rebels, or deigning to act in concert with the loyal commanders, he again retired, having first, saith Mr. Carte, defaced St. Mary's church, dug up the graves, and burned the coffins and bones of those who lay interred, with a senseless fury, fit only to make his own memory detested, and afford occasions for seditious spirits to enflame the people.

In the mean time, Inchiquin lay at Cork, struggling with his difficulties, and scarcely able to procure subsistence for his garrison: as the enemy proceeded to reduce the forts and castles of the province, he found himself in danger of being speedily blocked up, and starved in his quarters. To prevent it, he resolved to hazard an engagement with the rebels, notwithstanding their superiority. With the troops of the earl of Cork, commanded by his sons the lords Kynalmeaky and Broghil, and the forces raised by the earl of Barrymore, he contrived to form a little army of about two thousand; and, although his men were considerably weakened by their distresses, yet relying on that want of skill and discipline which generally prevailed in an Irish army, he ventured to march against the rebels. He found them posted advantageously near a castle called Lis-carrol, which they had just reduced, to the number of seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse. The contest was for some time supported with spirit, but at length decided in favor of the royalists.

Their

Their loss was inconsiderable, though embittered by the fall of lord Kynalmeaky. The rebels were pursued without mercy; and, in their flight, spread a general consternation through all their adherents. The only advantage which lord Inchiquin gained by this success, was that of dividing his forces into several garrisons, and procuring them a miserable subsistence.

We are now to return to the northern province, the first scene of commotion, and where the power of the rebels was still considerable. The contests between the king and commons, the difference between the two houses of parliament, and possibly, the artifice of popular leaders who wished to foment the Irish insurrection, protracted the treaty for sending Scottish forces into Ireland. At length, however, it was resolved to accept the assistance of Scotland. Two thousand five hundred men were destined for the immediate service of Ulster. On their arrival, the town and castle of Carricfergus were to be surrendered into their hands, and when the residue of ten thousand men, the number stipulated with the Scottish commissioners, should land in Ulster, they were to be invested also with the town and castle of Colerain. To these conditions the king reluctantly submitted: and to do the greater honor to those auxiliaries, the sole and uncontrouled conduct of the northern war was committed to the Scottish generals.

About the middle of April, the first detachment landed at Carricfergus. Their commander, Robert Monroe, was instantly joined by some of the provincial forces, amounting to eighteen hundred foot and seven troops of cavalry. The whole body advanced to Newry: at their approach the rebels abandoned the town; and the reduction of the castle was speedily effected. That of Carlingford was delivered up to Sir Henry Tichburne. The tumultuary followers of the rebel-leaders shrunk with their usual instability, from the first appearance of danger. Sir Phelim O'Neil finding it necessary to abandon
Deposition, MS.
Tria. Col.
Dublin.
 Armagh,

Carte.
Orm.

Armagh, in the rage of disappointment set fire to the town, while his brutal train wrecked their barbarity on those wretched English who were in their power. For the present, O'Nial retired to Charlemont, though with little hopes of maintaining this post, as he was destitute of ammunition. Many of his followers fled to the fastnesses of Tirone: and even several distinguished rebels abandoned their houses, and concealed themselves in different retreats.

MONROE was earnestly pressed to seize the advantage of this general consternation of the rebels, to pursue them vigorously before they should recover from their terror, and receive supplies from abroad. The speedy and effectual suppression of the northern rebels must have enabled the loyalists of Ulster to relieve the other provinces, where the forces of government were weak and distressed, and the rebels better armed and ordered than in the North. It was an enterprize suited to the military genius of his nation. But Monroe, had his secret instructions. Having put sixty men and eighteen women to death at Newry, he left three hundred men to garrison the town, and returned to Carricfergus. Hence he again made an excursion into the county of Antrim. No enemy appeared: but the earl of Antrim, though zealous against the rebels, was a papist and a cavalier; reasons sufficient for wasting his lands, and seizing his person. The latter was effected in a manner not unusual in the earlier and more barbarous times. Monroe, with an appearance of amity and respect, visited, the earl at his castle of Dunluce; was hospitably received; but, at the conclusion of an entertainment, gave the signal to his followers. The earl was made prisoner, his castle seized, and all his houses committed to the custody of the Scottish forces.

Ibid.

Two months wasted in total inaction, or the most frivolous enterprizes, revived the spirit of the rebels, recalled them from their retreats, and enabled them once more to collect their forces. The charge

charge of opposing them now devolved on the English forces of Ulster; for the Scots were totally employed in ravaging the adjacent districts, and exporting vast herds of cattle into Scotland. Sir Pheelim O'Nial appeared once more at the head of an army; but was bravely encountered by Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, two English commanders. After a sharper action than had hitherto been fought in Ulster, the rebels were driven to flight, with the loss of five hundred slain, many wounded, and a number of prisoners. It was proposed to prosecute this advantage, but the English were distressed and necessitous, and Monroe refused his assistance. Some loyal English officers, provoked at this unaccountable reluctance, resolved to struggle with their difficulties, and to try what might be effected by their own efforts. They reduced some forts occupied by the rebels, and were preparing to extend their operations, when their ardour was effectually repressed by a mandate from the earl of Leven, now preparing to embark with the main body of Scottish auxiliaries: his orders were, that no man should besiege any place, or station a garrison in any town of Ulster, but by permission of the Scottish commanders.

THIS apparent horror of putting too speedy a conclusion to the war, must immediately have been attended with the most pernicious consequences, had not the rebels been dispirited by ill success, and in want of every necessary for the prosecution of their enterprize. Such was their dejection, that when ^{Carte.} Monroe, in the month of July, at length shewed ^{Orm.} some disposition to proceed more vigorously, the Irish chieftains held their council, and resolved to abandon a cause rendered utterly hopeless by repeated defeats and disappointments, and to fly to foreign countries, from the rage of their victorious enemy. In this moment of desperation, intelligence was received that Owen O'Nial, whose arrival had been so long and so anxiously expected, after a tedious

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voyage from Dunkirk, was landed in the county of Donegal, with one hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes instantly revived; a body of forces was appointed to attend their favorite general, and conducted him triumphantly to the fort of Charlemont.

Carte.
Orin.

OWEN O'NIAL had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies with reputation. He was governor of Arras, when the French besieged this town in 1640; and, though obliged to surrender upon honorable terms, yet his defence gained him the respect even of his enemy. Experience had formed him to an able and skilful soldier; quick in discerning, diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumspect than enterprising; of a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of especial use in that service which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his sobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they were contrasted by the ignorance and rudeness, the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. To the secret mortification of this his kinsman, Owen was unanimously declared by the northern Irish, head and leader of their confederacy.

THE new general began with expressing his detestation of those barbarities exercised by Sir Phelim O'Nial and his brutal followers. The remains of their prisoners he dismissed in safety to Dundalk; he inveighed with unusual warmth against those who had disgraced their cause by murder and massacre; he set fire to the houses of some more notoriously guilty, and declared that he would join with the English, rather than suffer any such wretches to escape their just punishment. As he expected to be speedily besieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation necessary for defence. But the Scottish forces still lay inactive, and the English were not permitted to attack him; so that he had

had full leisure to collect and discipline his men. At length the earl of Leven arrived in the month of August, and encreased the Scottish army to ten thousand men. The whole force of the province amounted to twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse: so that Leven, who had the sole command of this body, seemed to have nothing more to do, but march against an enemy unable to resist him, to crush them at once, and hunt their miserable remains from every part of Ulster. He passed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone. Hence he addressed a letter to Owen O'Nial, expressing his concern, that a man of his reputation should come to Ireland for the maintenance of so bad a cause. Owen replied, that he had better reasons to come to the relief of his country, than his lordship could plead for marching into England against his king: and, as if this short correspondence had been the sole object of his march, Leven again retired, and delivering up the army to Monroe, whom he warned to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O'Nial should once collect an army, he returned to Scotland. A conduct so extraordinary was by the Irish naturally imputed to cowardice, and inspired them with contempt of the Scottish enemy. Monroe remained inactive; O'Nial continued to form his forces; while the army which should oppose him, Scottish and English, the troops raised by parliament, and those commissioned by the king, were all alike neglected by England, and soon obliged to struggle, in their respective quarters, with the miseries of nakedness and famine.

Thus were the rebels in every province of Ireland ^{Carta. Orm.} suffered to collect and encrease their force, to possess stations of strength and consequence, in some places to confine the English within narrow bounds; while they themselves ranged at large, and had free possession of the open country. The defeats which their parties received from the loyalists were of less prejudice to their cause, as the enemy could not improve

improve their advantage, but suffered them to re-assemble and repair their losses. To encrease their confidence, a second, and more important embarkation was made for their support at Dunkirk. Wexford was in their possession. Two vessels first arrived in the port laden with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of Lord Gormanston, a soldier of experience and reputation, soon followed in a ship of war, attended by two frigates, and six other vessels laden with ordnance for battery, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions, five hundred officers, and a considerable number of engineers. Twelve other vessels fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, together with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by cardinal Richelieu, and sent into Ireland, thus amply provided, and assured of farther succours.

THE English were justly alarmed. While they laboured under various wants and distresses, the enemy was abundantly supplied with every necessary for war. They were masters of the sea; and by intercepting several ships laden with provisions, as they passed through St. George's Channel, gave a fatal interruption to the commerce between Chester and Dublin, and encreased the scarcity already felt severely in the capital. It was expected that the rebels would immediately proceed to some vigorous operations; and supplies were instantly dispatched to some forts more immediately exposed to danger. But the Irish were, for the present, engaged in the execution of a scheme some time since concerted, to give a form of authority to their procedure, so as to unite their associates in the several provinces, and to enforce obedience and submission. The authority of their clergy had been already employed. The popish prelate of Armagh first summoned his clergy to a synod. They declared the war of the Irish to be lawful and pious, and exhorted all persons

sons to unite in their righteous cause: at the same time, they made constitutions against plunderers and murderers. But it was soon deemed necessary to proceed yet farther. A general synod was convened of all the Romish clergy of Ireland, which sat at Kilkenny in the month of May.

THE acts of this assembly were more numerous ^{Borlase.} and solemn. They began with declaring the war maintained by the catholics against sectaries and puritans, for defence of the catholic religion, the prerogative of the king, the honor and safety of the queen and royal issue, the conservation of the rights and liberties of Ireland, and of their own lives and fortunes, to be just and lawful. They disclaim all belief or acceptance of any letters or proclamations published in the king's name, until their own agents should be assured of his real will and intentions. They direct that all their confederates should be united by an oath of association, and denounce sentence of excommunication on all who should refuse to take it, against all neuters, against all who assisted the enemy, against all who should invade the possessions of any catholic, or any Irish protestant, *not adversary to their cause*. They forbid all distinctions and comparisons between the old and new Irish; direct that exact registers be kept in every province, of the cruelties and murders committed by the puritans, (for under this odious denomination they included all the loyalist) and denounced their ecclesiastical censures on those of their own people who should commit the like excesses. They ordain, that provincial councils should be composed of clergy and laity, and a general national council formed, to which the others should be subordinate; that embassies should be sent from this assembly to foreign potentates; and that the emperor, the king of France, and the pope should be particularly solicited to grant assistance to their cause. These were the principal acts of the clergy. The nobility and gentry then resident in Kilkenny, united with them in framing the

Carte.
Orm.

the oath of association, in naming the members of the supreme council, of which lord Mountgarret was chosen president, and in appointing a general assembly of the whole nation, to meet in that city in the ensuing month of October.

Ibid.

THE time for this convention was now arrived. The popish lords, prelates, and clergy, popish deputies from the several counties and principal towns of every province, assembled at Kilkenny. With an affected humility they protested, that their assembly was by no means to be considered as a parliament, which the king's writ alone could convene, but a general meeting for the regulation of their affairs, until his majesty's wisdom should settle the present troubles. It was, however, formed on the plan of a parliament, consisting of two houses; one composed of temporal peers and prelates, the other of representatives deputed by counties and cities. Both sat in the same chamber. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, already distinguished by his activity in parliament, took his place, bareheaded, on a stool, as a substitute to the judges. Nicholas Plunket, another distinguished partizan of the recusant faction, was appointed speaker of the assembly. The lords had their place of retirement for private consultation; and Darcy communicated their resolutions to the commons. Those of the clergy who were not admitted to sit among the lords, formed a convocation, in which they treated about the restoration and settlement of church possessions. The arrogance of their demands was treated by the lay-inpropriators with contempt and ridicule, even while they professed to be the zealous champions of the church.

Borlase.

IN the first place, however, they declared their resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church, agreeably to the great charter. The common law of England and statutes of Ireland they professed to accept as their rule of government, so far as they were not contrary to the
Roman

Roman religion, or inconsistent with the liberties of Ireland. They commanded all persons to bear faith and allegiance to the king, and to maintain his just prerogatives: at the same time, they utterly denied and renounced the authority of his Irish government administered in Dublin, by a "malignant party, to his highness's great disservice, and in compliance with their confederates "the malignant party of England." The administration of public justice they assumed to themselves. To each county they assigned a council, consisting of twelve persons, who were to decide all matters cognizable by justices of peace, pleas of the crown, suits for debts and personal actions, and to name all county officers except the high sheriff. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial councils, consisting of two deputies out of each county, who were to meet four times in a year, to decide suits like judges of assize, with some particular limitations of their jurisdiction. From these again there lay an appeal to what was called THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND; an assembly consisting of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general convention. Of these, twelve were to reside at Kilkenny, or in some other convenient town: no fewer than nine were to compose a council; and of the sitting members, two thirds were to decide on every measure. This council was to chuse sheriffs out of three nominated by the county-council; to command all military officers and civil magistrates; to determine all matters left undecided by the general assembly; to hear and judge all causes criminal and civil, except titles to lands; to direct the conduct of war, and every matter relative to the interest of the confederacy. For the greater honor and security of this important assembly, a guard was assigned, consisting of five hundred foot, and two hundred horse.

As this scheme of a supreme council had been *Borlase* adopted from the ecclesiastical synod, so also was the

the oath of association taken from their form ; with a retrenchment of one part only, in which the clergy bound their votaries never to consent to peace, until the church should be amply invested, not only with all its powers and privileges, its splendor and magnificence, but with all its ancient possessions, which no zeal for religion could induce the present possessors to restore. The assembly were contented with directing, that all persons should swear allegiance to the king ; should engage to defend his prerogative, the power and privilege of the parliament of Ireland, the fundamental laws, together with the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion ; to obey the orders of the supreme council ; to seek for no pardon or protection without consent of the major part of this council ; and to prosecute and maintain the common cause.

Carta.
Orm.

THE order of government once adjusted, the provincial generals were chosen ; Owen O'Nial for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke for Connaught, with the title of lieutenant-general : as they hoped that the earl of Clanricarde would unite with them, and accept the chief command of this province. Scarcely had they sworn to maintain the king's prerogative, when they proceeded to an open and outrageous violation of it, by assuming a power of regulating the coin, and raising its value. Their ambassadors were dispatched to foreign courts to solicit succours. At the same time, to demonstrate their pacific dispositions, they prepared two petitions to be presented to the king and queen, together with a representation of those grievances which they alleged as the occasion of their confederacy.

Ibid.

BUT amidst all this appearance of state and authority, the assembly of confederate Irish felt their secret dissensions and mortifications. The more moderate among them affected to abhor the cruelty of the original insurrection. They wished to obliterate the memory of all transactions previous to their convention,

convention, and to consider the civil war as but now commenced. Hence, in the disposal of their offices, several of the first conspirators were purposely neglected. Sir Phelim O'Nial was disappointed and provoked: even Roger Moore, whose temper was more generous, and more abhorrent of barbarity, found his zealous services unnoticed and unrewarded. He had spirit, abilities, and activity, to render him a formidable malecontent, but, for the present, he was soothed and flattered: his death, which happened soon after this convention, at Kilkenny, was an incident possibly not displeasing to the confederates.

To their utter mortification, Clanricarde steadily rejected all their overtures; unshaken in his loyalty by the solicitations, the menaces, and the excommunication of their clergy. To console them, however, in this disappointment, they now gained a new associate of dignity and consequence, Touchet, earl of Castlehaven, and baron Audley of England. Carte.
Orm.
Clanri-
carde's
Mem. fol.

On the first intelligence of the rebellion, this lord had hastened from Munster to Dublin, and made a tender of his services to government. As he was a Roman catholic, they could not be accepted: he desired a passport to go to England; this also was denied. He was not even admitted to reside in Dublin; and, therefore, retired to one of his seats in the county of Kildare, where he lived inoffensively, and, as he asserts, was serviceable in relieving and protecting the English of his neighbourhood. His character and station induced the lords of the Pale to use his mediation with the justices, that they might be allowed to assemble, and prepare a representation of their grievances to the king. He transmitted their letter, and, at the same time, repeated his request of permission to depart the kingdom. This was unaccountably denied; he was severely reprimanded for his correspondence with the rebels; and warned to be cautious of his conduct for the future. Slight rumours and suspicions of the dis-

loyalty of this lord, were eagerly received and entertained by the chief governors; and, on the most futile evidence, he was soon indicted of high treason. Conscious of his innocence, he hastened to Dublin; but, without being heard, was committed to close custody. His brother embarked privately, and petitioned the king, now resident at York, that the earl might be tried by his peers. The king referred him to the parliament; the parliament refused to interfere without the king. In the meantime, Castlehaven contrived to escape from his confinement; fled to Kilkenny in the utmost rage and indignation, and was readily persuaded to unite with the confederates. He was created an additional member of the supreme council, and appointed to command the Leinster horse, under general Preston.

Carte.
Orm,

WHILE the confederacy of the Irish was thus gaining strength, and rising gradually to consequence, the English, in the midst of their distresses, were divided in affection and interest, by the important contest of the neighbouring kingdom. The governors and their creatures zealously engaged on the side of parliament: the army, influenced by the earl of Ormond, for the most part favored the king. From the moment that a civil war appeared inevitable, the parliament deemed it a point of consequence to establish an interest in Ireland. Their agents were employed in Dublin, to solicit the officers of the army to sign a petition to his majesty, beseeching him to comply with his parliament. To men, who had been shamefully neglected and abandoned by this assembly, the application was ungracious. The opinion of their commander was first to be obtained. Ormond received the petition; he proposed, that another should be addressed to the commons; but, in the drafts of both, he made such alterations, as manifested his attachment to the king, and were utterly disagreeable to the parliamentary agents. They adhered to their own form; the earl steadily rejected it; so that the scheme of a petition was defeated; which Ormond took care to

to represent to the king as an instance of the good affections of his army of Ireland. At the same time he pathetically represented their distresses, his inability to engage in any service of real consequence, and the embarrassments he experienced from the justices, in their obstinate aversion to prosecute the rebels with vigor and effect.

THE justices, on their part, seized every occasion of mortifying the earl of Ormond. They scrutinized his conduct with severity, and represented it ^{Carle.} maliciously. The earl of Leicester, secretly at-^{Orma.} tached to the parliament, and too solicitous for their service to assume his government of Ireland, regarded Ormond with suspicion and disgust, as the rival of his power. On every vacancy in the Irish army, he endeavoured to appoint such officers as were most agreeable to his party. Hence there naturally arose some sharp contentions between the lord lieutenant and the general. They were submitted to the king; and the king readily decided in favor of a zealous royalist. He enlarged Ormond's commission as commander of the army in Ireland, and rendered it independent of the earl of Leicester. As this nobleman professed an intention of repairing to his government without delay, the king deemed it necessary to protect Ormond, his friend, from every possible oppression or mortification. He gave him licence to resort to England at his pleasure, without any prejudice to his offices and entertainments in Ireland; and to grace so good a servant still farther, of his own motion he created him a marquis.

THE civil war of England was now declared. ^{Ibid.} The king laboured to gain the army of Ireland, by his favors to their general. The parliament, still more assiduous, endeavoured not only to secure an interest in the soldiery, but to direct the whole administration of this kingdom. Reynolds and Goodwin, two members of the English commons, were sent for these purposes to Dublin, and brought with them some ammunition, together with twenty thou- sand

sand pounds, a supply utterly inadequate to the necessities of the army, but such as served for a momentary relief, and gave them hopes of further succours. The parliamentary agents were assiduous, and experienced in the artifices of faction: the lords justices, and their creatures of the council, were their zealous partizans. Every rumour disadvantageous to the king and his cause was received with joy, and industriously propagated. The pulpit was employed, as in England, to enflame men's minds; and the most absurd illiterate brawlers, encouraged by those in power, vented their crude decisions on a contest infinitely transcending their wretched intellects. One of these instruments of faction proved so outrageously offensive, as to engage the attention of an Irish parliament: and his friends, the chief governors, screened him from punishment, by suddenly proroguing this assembly.

Carte.
Orm.

REYNOLDS and Goodwin, together with lord Lisle, who had imbibed the spirit and principles of his father Leicester, were admitted into the privy council without any warrant from the king, whose authority was despised by the governors of Ireland, from the moment that his sword was drawn. Instead of acting against the public enemy, these men seemed solely intent on embarrassing and mortifying those who were attached to the king. Every measure was pursued to render the marquis of Ormond dissatisfied with his command. Clanricarde was abandoned to his distresses: every particular of his conduct was interpreted malignantly; and, possibly the justices and their creatures entertained some secret hopes, that a popish lord, of such extensive property, might, at length, be seduced from his allegiance by the solicitations of the rebels, and the efforts of their clergy. Lord Ranelagh, the president of Connaught, quitted his government in vexation and despair, and hasted to Dublin, with a resolution of laying before the king a full account of the distresses of his province, and the pernicious conduct

conduct of the justices. But his design was quickly defeated. On his arrival, he was instantly accused as author of all the extremities which the troops had experienced in Connaught. A charge, consisting of seventy-four articles, was exhibited against him to the council. He was not allowed a copy or a view of these articles: he petitioned for licence to make his defence before the king, to whom they were transmitted: but this also was denied.

It was a point of especial moment to the lords ^{Carta} justices, and their party, that no accounts of Ire-^{Orma}land, and its affairs, should be transmitted either to the king or English parliament, but through the medium of their own representations. But this policy was at length defeated, by the bold and spirited conduct of the royalists. The officers of the Leinster army had been long exposed to the severest necessities, by the withholding of their pay, and the wretched provisions made for their subsistence. They were many of them persons of distinction of the English nation, and supported and joined in their complaints by the earl of Kildare. They had addressed themselves for relief to parliament, but with no effect. They repeated their address to the privy council, in a manner so bold and peremptory as was alarming to government. Hopes and promises were lavished on these dangerous complainants: expedients were devised for their immediate relief; it was even agreed, that every one should bring in half their plate * for the present supply of the army:

* Anthony Martin bishop of Meath, had been pillaged by the rebels in the first insurrection, and deprived of all his substance. As a member of the privy council, he was now required to send in his plate. The prelate answered, that he had none, nor any property whatever, but a *few old gowns*. It is scarcely possible to conceive a petty tyranny more provoking and contemptible than that of the justices, who, for no other offence, but that of a reply delivered in plainness and simplicity of heart, committed the poor prelate to close custody, and obliged him to petition the throne for relief.

army: but the sum thus raised proved totally insufficient. The clamour was renewed; and the officers having now prepared an affecting address to the king, demanded licence for their agent to repair to England, and convey it to his majesty

THE justices and the agents of the English parliament were alarmed at this design. They endeavoured to terrify the officers; they assured them, with an affectation of deep concern, that such an address must infallibly deprive them of all future succours from the commons of England: they entreated them to suspend their design, at least until the effect of those representations already made to parliament should be discovered. When this artifice proved ineffectual, Reynolds and Goodwin persuaded the justices, not only to deny licence of departure to the agent chosen by the officers, but to lay an embargo on all vessels in the harbour. The officers, not yet dismayed, insisted on their demand of a licence. Those of the province of Leinster avowed and united in the address prepared in Dublin, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the two agents, who visited every fort and garrison, to gain the officers to their party. The justices found it necessary to take off the embargo. The address was conveyed to the king; who could but express his grief at the distresses of so eminent and meritorious a body, and his thanks for their services and attachment.

Clarendon.

THIS was not the first intimation which Charles had received of the distresses of his army in Ireland. Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Arthur Hill, and colonel Audley Mervyn, had already attended him at Oxford, with a petition in favor of his Irish soldiery; and though avowed parliamentarians, and though their application was permitted and directed by the parliament, they were graciously received. The present petition came from men better affected to his person and interest, and was attended with some useful informations relative

lative to the governors of Ireland, their principles, their connexions, and procedure.

THIS prince was now unhappily involved in a civil war, desperately maintained, and of uncertain event. On the first operations of this war, each party was convinced of the necessity of trying every expedient, and ransacking every quarter for assistance. In despite of the inveterate aversion against popery, which it was fashionable to express, and which Charles was particularly interested to affect, he found it necessary, about the time of the engagement at Edge-hill, to accept the services of papists, and particularly to arm those of Lancashire. ^{White-lock.} The parliament inveighed against this impiety: the king recriminated, and accused them of employing numbers of the same profession in their army. The parliament declared their resolution of inviting the Scots to assist against the enemies of the protestant religion. Charles justly dreaded the spirit of his northern subjects, and saw the necessity of strengthening himself against an union so formidable. For this purpose he seems to have turned his eyes to Ireland, with an attention stricter than the distractions of England had hitherto admitted. The insurrections of that kingdom had proved of most essential service to his enemies. Could they be allayed, the power with which he had unwarily invested the parliament, of assuming the conduct of the war in Ireland, would be rendered useless and void: they would be deprived of one great popular pretence for raising men and money; and an army of royalists might in due time be transported from Ireland to join the king's standard.

THE professions of the Irish insurgents were not ^{Carr.} unfavorable to such views. They had repeatedly ^{Ormond,} solicited for liberty to lay their grievances before ^{and Let-} the king, and for a cessation of hostilities, until ^{ters.} their complaints should be heard and decided. They had employed the mediation of the earl of Castlehaven without effect: the earl of Clanricarde had

had warmly recommend their propositions to the state; but the lords justices were inexorable: they again applied to Ormond, who resolved to transmit their petition to the king. The justices, when they found that it could no longer be suppressed, at length consented to convey a copy of it to Charles, attended with their own remarks, and an earnest desire that it might be rejected, as the granting the request of the petitioners would be "inconsistent with the means of raising a considerable revenue to the crown, and establishing religion and civility in Ireland." The only answer they received was that of a severe reprimand for their disrespect in transmitting a copy of the petition, and a peremptory order that they should send the original. This occasioned a delay; so that the general assembly at Kilkenny once more repeated their application to the throne.

It can scarcely be doubted, but that from these overtures the king derived some hopes of composing the dissensions of Ireland, and drawing some assistance from this kingdom. Nothing, indeed, could be more unpopular than any act of indulgence to the Irish insurgents. They were the avowed defenders of popish superstition and idolatry, objects of abhorrence to the popular party, and such as the king necessarily professed to regard with abhorrence. Yet the urgent necessity of his affairs obliged him to attend to every argument in favor of those obnoxious rebels. He considered their repeated applications for peace, and permission to explain their grievances; the ruin with which Ireland was threatened; the neglect of this kingdom which the parliament had discovered; his own inability to protect his Irish protestant subjects; and the encreasing strength of the rebels. He saw no reason why he should not receive the propositions of the Irish, as he had formerly condescended to the Scots, and was still ready to treat with his English rebels. Thus reconciled to a measure which promised some advantage, Charles issued a commission under

under the great seal of England, to the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Clanricarde, earl of Roscommon, viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, esquire, to meet the principal recusants, to receive, and to transmit their propositions.

SUCH a manifest overture to peace was provoking to the justices, and alarming to Goodwin and Reynolds, the committee of parliament, (as they were called.) Parsons doubted whether he should not stop the execution of this commission. Burke who conveyed it into Ireland, was said to be a fomenter of rebellion, and a known agent of the rebels. The committee flew through the army and the inhabitants of Dublin, soliciting them to sign a remonstrance against the commission, but with little success. The king was informed of their proceedings: and encouraged by the apparent prosperity of his affairs, resolved to pursue his schemes in Ireland with greater vigor. He wrote to the lords justices in terms of great severity, commanding, that Goodwin and Reynolds should be removed from the privy council. He soon after transmitted his warrants to the justices and Ormond, for securing their persons, and committing them to close custody. But these agents had already fled from the kingdom in confusion and disgrace. It is natural to expect, that Charles should, in the next place, remove the present lords justices, and commit the government of Ireland to some person of approved attachment. He, indeed, proposed to create the marquis of Ormond lord lieutenant, leaving it, however, to his own choice, either to accept or decline this station. Whether Ormond discovered some marks of irresolution in this proposal; whether he imagined, that in his present character he could serve the king more effectually, and with greater security to himself: or whatever were his motives, he humbly advised his majesty to "delay the Carte," sending him an authority to take that charge upon

"him;" and proceeded to the treaty with the Irish insurgents.

Carte.
Orm.

IN conjunction with the other commissioners, he sent a summons to the lords Gormanston, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and seven others, who had signed the petition to the king, requiring them to send their agents to Drogheda, where the commissioners would be ready, on a day appointed, to receive their propositions, in order to transmit them to his majesty. The Irish were considerably elated by their present advantages. Their general, Preston, had taken several places of strength, and though, in an encounter with Monk, his party was defeated, yet he still extended his petty conquests. In most districts the insurgents were superior, and exulted in the distresses of the royal forces. Their vanity and inexperience magnified this superiority, and their clergy, of all others the most vain and inexperienced, encouraged and inflamed their insolence. The commissioners apprehending the presumption of this order, required that the committee, to be sent to Drogheda, should consist entirely of laymen. They limited their number to thirty, and demanded that they should be ready at the place of meeting to receive the commissioners, with due respect to the king's authority. But what was still more offensive, in the safe-conduct granted by the justices to their committee, the recusants were styled *actors or abettors in an ODIUS REBELLION*.

Carte,
Letters,
vol. III.
No.
cxxxii.

AN answer was instantly returned by the supreme council, in the first violence of pride and indignation. They expressed their surprize, that a commission founded on an application made by the catholics, in the month of August, should be unaccountably concealed until the succeeding month of February. They declared it necessary for them to have a view, or copy of this commission. They resented the indignity of prescribing a mode of demeanor to their agents, as if they were to be informed of the respect due to the king. But, above all things, they disdained the offensive appellations
inserted

inserted in the safe conduct, and inserted by the justices, (as they affected to suppose) without authority: and declared their firm and unanimous resolution to abandon all thought of accommodation, until the odious and unmerited imputation of **REBELLION** should be retracted. In this case, they professed themselves ready to concur in every pacific measure, provided they were not restrained in the number and quality of their agents, and that an indifferent and secure place were assigned for their meeting, as they had melancholy experience of the danger of relying on a proclamation, much more on any safe-conduct granted by the lords justices. "If these our just and reasonable demands," say they, "shall be denied to us, we must again employ some zealous and well minded man, who, in behalf of justice, dare hazard the **RACK**, by whom we may address our humble requests to the fountain of justice, his sacred majesty, whose most faithful and most humble subjects we are*."

THE commissioners hesitated whether they should take any notice of this letter, or proceed any further in their negotiations with men of such a spirit. Their zeal for accomplishing a treaty essential to the king's interest at length prevailed; they condescended not only to return an answer but to enclose a copy of their commission. In this the king expressed "his extreme indignation at the odious **REBELLION**, which the recusants of Ireland had, without ground or colour, raised against his person, crown, and dignity." So that, as it now appeared, the justices had but copied his majesty's expressions. At the same time, the earl of Castlehaven laboured to inspire his associates at Kilkenny with greater moderation. At his instances they wrote in humbler terms to the commissioners, expressing

* Signed, MOUNTGARRET. HUGO ARDMACHANUS. GORMANSTON. JOHANNES CLOWFERTENSIS. NICHOLAS PLUNKET. RICHARD BEALING. PATRICK DABY. GERRALDE FENNEL. GEORGE COMIN. GIFFERY BROWNE.

pressing their solicitude, that his majesty's gracious intentions towards them should not be frustrated, and their readiness to obey his royal commands, in disposal of their men and arms, with such zeal as should prove them NO ACTORS OR ABETTERS IN AN ODISIOUS REBELLION, expressions, which, they still insisted, should not be used in any instrument addressed to them. The second letter of the commissioners brought them to a still more tractable disposition. They now contented themselves, with zealous protestations of their loyalty, and the integrity of their intentions. And thus, by pliancy on each side, and the efforts of men of temper and moderation, it was at length agreed, that six agents of the supreme council, all laymen, should be authorized to attend the king's commissioners at TRIM, on the seventeenth day of March.

A. D.
1642. 3.

It had been proposed in the privy council, that a cessation of arms should take place during the negociation. But this the lords justices peremptorily opposed: and they, who against all the instances of military men, had so long kept the soldiery in a state of inaction, now, at length, found it necessary for the subsistence of the forces, to employ them in an expedition which might retard, or defeat the treaty with the Irish. Their design was to reduce the towns of Ross and Wexford, an enterprise which Ormond had earnestly recommended before the arrival of Preston, but which government had as earnestly opposed, on the frivolous pretence of reserving the honor of it for the lord lieutenant, whose arrival was expected, but who was detained in England by the king's command. The justices now resolved to employ lord Lisle: and great preparations were made, and unusual efforts exerted to support him in his expedition. Ormond suspecting some concealed purpose in this appointment of a general, signified to the lords justices, that, as he was particularly entrusted with the army, he deemed it his indispensable duty to take upon himself the command of this expedition.

In

In a moment, their zeal was cold; the army was ready to march; there was no pretence for suspending the expedition; the command could not be denied to the marquis; they suffered him to proceed; but withheld the provisions necessary to his success.

In his progress, he drove the rebels from several ^{Carta} of those places they had occupied; and relying on ^{Orin} the arrival of the stores which the lords justices engaged to send by sea to Duncannon, he formed the siege of Ross. No stores arrived; the enemy could not be prevented from throwing two thousand men into the town; his forces were exposed to the severity of a dreary season, and threatened with famine. The governor of Duncannon afforded him a small supply of bread and ammunition, which encouraged him to attempt the town by storm, conscious that he could not continue to invest it for any time. A breach was made; the assault given; the garrison was numerous and well supplied; they repelled their assailants with some slaughter. Ormond had a scanty provision of three days for his army, at a distance of sixty miles from the capital; a sudden retreat was the only measure to be pursued: but now, Preston with six thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse, occupied a defile through which he must of necessity pass in his return to Dublin.

Nothing more was necessary to complete the ruin of the English forces, but that Preston should continue to occupy this impregnable station. His enemy was reduced to the miserable alternative of perishing by famine, or marching to a desperate and hopeless attack. In the moment when the gallant marquis was thus on the point of falling, by the neglect or treachery of the justices, Preston happily rescued him from destruction. With a pre- ^{Castle-} ^{haven's} ^{Mem.} ^{Carta} ^{Orin} cipitation unpardonable in a soldier, he rushed forward into the plain, in full confidence of an easy victory, over an inferior enemy, enfeebled by their wants. Ormond eagerly seized the advantage. His charge

charge was spirited and skilful. The Irish horse was at once thrown into confusion by his artillery : their foot, without any considerable resistance, fled, one division after another, and though they attempted to rally, were pressed so vigorously, that their route was speedily completed. Five hundred of the Irish were lost in this engagement, and all their baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

Carta.
Oua.

THE Leinster rebels must have been entirely destroyed, had the marquis been enabled to continue the pursuit, by some troops of horse. But the whole English cavalry, having routed that of the rebels, rode off, without returning to the field ; an incident which raised suspicion of some sinister motive in lord Lisle, their leader. The only advantage, therefore, which Ormond derived from his success, was that of pursuing his march to Dublin, and not without apprehensions of being harassed by the enemy, whose loss was not considerable, and who might soon recover from their consternation. But as Preston, in his flight and terror, had broken down the bridge over the river Barrow, he could not lead his forces back to annoy the enemy, nor prevent them from ranging freely over the country to supply their necessities. The marquis, fired with indignation and resentment, returned to the capital, which was now a scene of calamity and discontent. The inhabitants were exhausted and oppressed by the maintenance of the soldiers ; the soldiers, exasperated by their distresses, repeatedly amused by assurances of relief, and repeatedly disappointed, were turbulent and mutinous. Strangers were expelled from the city ; thousands of despoiled English, whose very subsistence became an intolerable burden, were transported into their own country. Merchants were rifled and despoiled of their commodities, to supply the necessities of the state. Such wretched expedients still proved insufficient, and the army was still distressed and clamorous.

IN the mean time, four of the king's commissioners met the agents of the confederate catholics at Trim, and received their remonstrance of grievances and petition for redress. In this instrument they made a solemn protestation of their loyalty, pleaded their former merits, in granting extraordinary subsidies to the king, and apologized for their present insurrection, or rather pleaded a necessity for taking arms, from the oppressions they had long endured, from the disqualifications and severities of the penal statutes of the second year of queen Elizabeth, (which they represented as entirely unnoticed and unknown, until revived by their enemies, as an instrument of persecution,) from the denunciations of the malignant party in England against their religion, and the cruelties exercised on their ecclesiastics. Nor did they forget the ordinance against bowing at the name of Jesus, at which they affected the utmost horror and amazement. The offensive conduct of the lords justices, before and since the first discovery of the insurrection, was fully stated; their devices for exasperating the old natives and perpetuating the war, their arbitrary and cruel measures for defeating every attempt of the catholics to convey their grievances to the throne. They charged them with horrid perfidy and barbarity, with tyrannical proceedings in the court of wards, iniquitous measures for avoiding letters patent, and depriving the loyal subjects of their just possessions. They inveighed with particular warmth against the acts lately passed in England in favor of adventurers, whereby they were declared rebels, unsummoned and unheard, and despoiled of their lands, without exception, distinction, or any possibility of relief. These acts they represented as forced on the king, to the great prejudice of his rights and prerogatives, subversive of the fundamental laws of Ireland, and inconsistent with the rights and privileges of Irish subjects: who, from the time of Henry the Second, had parliaments of their own, and by right were to be bound only by

Carta.
Lett. Vol.
III. No.
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by acts framed or accepted in these assemblies.—To remedy these grievances, they proposed, that instead of the present Irish parliament, chiefly composed of the creatures and menial dependents of the chief governors, the king would be pleased to appoint a free parliament, to be convened at some indifferent place, before some person of approved loyalty, and acceptable to the people of Ireland, to deliberate without controul, by a suspension of the LAW OF POYNINGS; and that no catholics be, on any account excluded from sitting and voting in this parliament.

Cox.
Append.
No. iv.

In opposition to this remonstrance, which Ormond transmitted to the king, the lords justices, in a long declamatory letter, laboured to dissuade him from any accommodation with the Irish. They recalled to view the insolences and cruelties of the first rebellion, and the futility of the pretences urged in its justification. As the old English affected to stand distinguished from the Northerns, they affected to confound and involve both in the same guilt. They observed, and not without reason, that the assembly at Kilkenny had opposed the royal authority by erecting a new system of government, and disclaimed it by their oath of association, and by addressing themselves to foreign powers. They acknowledged their own want of every means to support a war: but, if supplied in due time, they doubted not to “take ample vengeance on the rebels, to reduce them to such a state, as they should not easily relapse into their commotions, and to find a way to a peace which should not be attended with a lingering ruin; but be suitable to his majesty’s greatness, and establish the future safety and happiness of his posterity, and of the kingdom.”

Carte.
Oron.

ORMOND considered the propositions of the confederates as totally inadmissible: at the same time, he condemned the representations of the lords justices, as tending to countenance a scheme of extirpation, iniquitous in the attempt, and impossible to be executed.

executed. The zeal of each party, those who favoured, and those who opposed an accommodation, grew gradually violent. Ormond, the head and patron of the royalists, accused the justices of concealing the true state of Ireland from the king, and insisted on acquainting him with the whole detail of distress endured by his subjects of this kingdom. The lords justices, although they pathetically lamented their pressing difficulties to the English parliament, yet were industrious to suppress all clamour and complaints at home, which might be pleaded in favor of an accommodation with the rebels. When the officers of the army petitioned the Irish parliament, representing their sufferings, and the iniquities of some agents, who, in the wretched dividends occasionally made for their support, had defrauded them by light and adulterated coin; they even recurred to the odious method of a sudden prorogation, to prevent the examination of their cause. To express their contempt and defiance of the rebels, they ordered some prisoners taken in battle, to be immediately executed by martial law. Several persons of distinction, who on submitting, in consequence of the royal proclamation, were rigorously confined in the castle of Dublin, had petitioned, and now repeated their application to be admitted to bail; but this the justices obstinately refused. They had exerted themselves so vigorously, that indictments of treason were found against these, and above a thousand more, in the space of two days; and, with a shameless outrage on decency, a memorial was publicly read at the council board, from a friend of Sir William Parsons, representing his merits in expending sums of money, for procuring witnesses on these indictments.

MEN of such a temper were evidently unfit to be entrusted with government: and the situation of the king's affairs, which every day became more critical, made it necessary for him to smoothe the way to such a treaty, as might enable him to draw

some assistance from Ireland. Any violent change, however, in Irish administration, might raise a clamour among his enemies in England; he, therefore, contented himself, for the present, with removing Parsons. Borlase, as in himself harmless and insignificant, was continued in the government, and Sir Henry Tichburne appointed for his new colleague, a man of unexceptionable character, and zealously devoted to the king's service. At the same time, Charles with a caution now unnecessary, commanded the Irish privy-council, not to execute any warrant, nor to pay obedience to any orders, without his own special allowance and approbation.

THIS change of government was soon followed by an order to the marquis of Ormond, to treat about a temporary cessation of arms with the rebels; as a treaty of final peace, upon moderate and equitable terms, required more time than the king's affairs and the necessities of Ireland could allow. And whatever were the primary motives of the king, involved as he was in a desperate civil war, which obliged him to seek resources from every quarter; yet, the melancholy plea of necessity never could be urged with greater force than on the present occasion.

DUBLIN, from whence all Leinster and Connaught were to be supplied, as well as Derry and Colerain, had long since been reduced to the most miserable extremities; the inhabitants plundered to supply the soldiery; the soldiery impatient of their distresses; the officers repeatedly threatening to recur to the first principle of nature, that of self-preservation. The province of Connaught was reduced to almost total desperation. The integrity and activity of the earl of Clanricarde had the virulence of the Roman clergy to encounter, (who denounced all their terrors against those who should refuse the oath of association) as well as the practices of those English officers who were devoted to the parliament. The rebels every day increased in strength: they became masters of the important fort

fort of Galway, and prepared to reduce those castles of the county of Roscommon, which (with Clancricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna) were all that held out in the western province. In Munster, lord Inchiquin, unassisted by the state, and abandoned by the English parliament, tried every miserable expedient for the relief of his soldiers, and was still on the point of total ruin. To preserve his forces from famishing, he was obliged to draw them from their garrisons, and to divide them into parties, to range over the country for subsistence. To encrease his calamity and consternation, one of those parties, commanded by Sir Charles Vavasor, an English officer, was attacked and defeated by the rebels, under the conduct of Castlehaven and Muskerry; his cannon, baggage, and seven hundred arms, taken, and six hundred of his men slain on the field of battle. In Ulster, the British power seemed most predominant. Yet, Monroe, for a while supplied from Scotland and England, at length found himself deserted by both; and, to support his troops, was obliged to rouse them from their inactivity. He attempted to surprise Owen O'Nial in his quarters, but was foiled, and forced to retire with some loss: and though this rebel-general was defeated by Sir Robert Stewart, yet he soon recruited his forces, received a supply of arms and ammunition from the supreme council, and extended his excursions, unmolested by an enemy weakened and dispirited by their distresses.

THE new lords justices and council had a deep sense of this misery to which the several provinces were reduced. They applied by letters, they dispatched their agents, to the English parliament for relief; yet without any considerable effect. As the last effort to keep the army from disbanding or perishing, they recurred to an expedient, of which the commons of England had already set the example; and, without consulting, or receiving any warrant from the king, established an excise. But, although
this

this obnoxious tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, yet, such was the poverty of the kingdom, that the money thus raised, proved utterly inadequate to the necessities of the state.

In such a situation of affairs, Ormond thought himself fully justified in proceeding to a treaty with the confederate Irish. Agreeably to the king's commands. The affair was delicate, and required address and caution. For the honor of his royal master it was necessary, that the first overture for a cessation should be made by the rebels; and, for this, his agents were employed to confer with the assembly at Kilkenny. The Irish clergy, who derived their extravagant hopes of power, riches, and splendor, from the confusions of the kingdom, were averse from every measure tending to restore the public peace. But these men and their partizans were, as yet, borne down by the more intelligent and temperate of their party. They considered, that to decline a cessation, would be to refute all their specious professions of loyalty, and their pretences of a necessity for taking arms. They had formerly expressed their earnest wishes that hostilities should be suspended, that they might represent their grievances, and prepare a way for the settlement of a distracted kingdom: and the majority of the assembly now determined to act consistently. They agreed to a cessation of twelve months, on certain conditions to be proposed by their agents to the marquis of Ormond.

As a preliminary to their conference, it was expected on the part of the Irish, that they should have a new and free parliament. The legality of the present was disputed; and, altered as it was so essentially, since its first convention, it seemed not well calculated for the important work of peace. On the other hand it was highly dangerous to summon a new parliament, while the confederate Irish were masters of most great towns and counties, had the elections absolutely in their power, and thus
might

might make laws, and decide upon their own actions. Ormond, therefore, deemed it necessary to declare, that he had no assurances from the king, that a new parliament should be convened, but that in this point the confederates must rely entirely upon such favor as his majesty should be pleased to grant, upon humble and seasonable propositions offered by their agents. He demanded as a preliminary, on his part, that if the cessation took place, the confederates should contribute in some reasonable proportion, to the maintenance of the king's forces in Ireland. After some debate and delay, they not only consented to recede from their expectations of a new parliament, but agreed in general, to the proposition of a supply, leaving the particular sum to be ascertained by their agents; who were now commissioned to attend the marquis, at such time and place as he should appoint, in order to conclude the treaty of cessation.

Ormond was sensible how odious this treaty must prove to the parliamentarians of England; how severely his conduct would be scrutinized by their partizans in Dublin; how necessary it was for him to guard his reputation from the reproach of enemies who held their secret correspondence with the neighbouring kingdom; whose representations would be received with favor, and propagated with zeal. He applied to the privy-council; he moved, that if the members of this board judged a cessation to be dishonourable to the king, or dangerous to his protestant subjects of Ireland, they should signify it to his majesty, and propose some other way for the preservation of the kingdom; in which case, he engaged to proceed no further, but at his own peril to break off the treaty of cessation. When no other way could be proposed, he then moved, that if ten thousand pounds might be raised, one half in money, the other in victuals, he would continue the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford. The magistrates and citizens of Dublin pronounced it

it impossible to raise such a supply. The marquis, therefore, proceeded to meet the Irish agents at Castle-Martyn, in the county of Kildare.

He received them with a stately dignity; and examined their propositions with the freedom of a superior. They demanded, in the name of the confederates, that the exercise of their government should continue during the cessation; they required that a free parliament should be convened: the marquis rejected these demands. They desired to be at liberty to use hostilities against the king's enemies; and that a way might be prescribed to distinguish between the royal party, and that of the malignants. To these particulars he declined any explicit answer. To some of their propositions he consented, with some qualification or restriction: but, above all things, he demanded a supply for maintenance of the king's forces, previous to the cessation. They observed, that this demand was not warranted by the king's commission; they refused to bind themselves by any previous stipulation, but declared their intentions to grant his majesty a free gift, on conclusion of the truce.

ORMOND supposed that their present confidence arose from the prosperous situation of their armies, and particularly from the successful progress of Preston, who had re-assembled his troops, taken several places, and over-run the province of Leinster. Any advantage gained by the king's forces must abate their pride: he, therefore, determined to suspend his negotiations; and if possible, to force Preston to an engagement. This general cautiously retired before him: Ormond was not sufficiently provided to pursue him: the dread of famine soon forced him to lead his army back to Dublin; abundantly convinced by this experiment, that the army and the protestant subjects of Ireland were to be rescued from destruction only by a cessation of hostilities.

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THE king was impatient for this event. It was not only the ill-success of the treaty at Oxford, it was not only the various events of war, in which he was exhausted, equally by his victories and defeats, that now determined him to seek resources in Ireland. Scotland had discovered a turbulent and dangerous spirit. The practices and negociations of the English parliament with their brethren of the North, had produced extraordinary commotions; and Charles expected the irruption of a Scottish army to assist his enemies. He renewed his orders and instructions for a cessation: he now deemed it necessary to shew some condescension to the Irish confederates: he expressed an inclination to call a new parliament in Ireland, and to permit their agents to treat with him on this business, and whatever else might conduce to a just, honorable, and perfect peace. To terrify and confound all opposition to his favorite scheme, Parsons, Temple, Loftus, Meredyth, the great partizans of the English parliament, were accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, and, by his order, committed to close custody. A commission passed under the great seal of Ireland, empowering the marquis of Ormond to treat for a cessation of arms for one year, on such terms as he should judge necessary, to conclude or break off the treaty as he should see cause; with an indemnification to him, and all who should assist him, from all trouble or damage on account of this transaction.

ORMOND was now to renew his treaty, with men naturally proud, transported by good fortune, and in the full career of success. Lord Castlehaven had taken several forts in the Queen's County, and that of Carlow. Owen O'Nial had advanced to West-Meath; Preston extended his irruptions almost to the capital; and both were busily employed in securing the harvest, and filling their magazines. The king's forces grew so mutinous and disorderly from their distresses, that the country-people who used to live under their protection, now fled from their
their

their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk, and other neighbouring garrisons, were ready to be abandoned through want. Monro refused to act against O'Nial: Monck and lord Moore were sent to oppose him. Moore was killed in a fruitless attack; Monck was forced to return to Dublin, for want of bread; and Castlehaven took all the places he had abandoned. In the remoter provinces the Irish enjoyed the same superiority; and, in Munster particularly, the distresses of lord Inchiquin were extreme.

THE assembly of Kilkenny were not insensible to the advantages of their cause. Peter Scaramp, a father of the congregation of the oratory, appeared in this city, as minister from the pope. He had brought supplies of money and ammunition to the rebels; letters from the holy see to the supreme council, the provincial generals, and the Romish prelates, and above all, a bull granting a general jubilee, and plenary absolution to those who had taken arms for the catholic religion. The old Irish crowded round him with peculiar attachment; he taught them to regard their countrymen of the English race as impious temporizers, and betrayers of the faith, to look with horror on any treaty in which was no express stipulation for the free, public, and splendid exercise of the Romish worship; he insisted on the flourishing state of their affairs, the distresses of the English, the prospect of their final ruin, the certain assurance of support from foreign powers, if the confederates should persevere, and not betray their glorious cause in a juncture so critical: he remonstrated against supplying the king with money to be employed against themselves. As if the very being of their confederacy did not depend on a continuance of the disorders in England, as if they and their claims could find the least regard, should the king be subdued by the parliament, this ignorant priest spirited up his partizans to move that the treaty of cessation should be deferred

consulted, and had given his directions in an affair of such moment to religion.

BUT the more sensible and moderate of the catholic party, were by no means disposed to pay implicit obedience to this minister. They urged the dangers of delay: the scandal of refuting their own pacific declarations and professions of loyalty; the propriety and necessity of supporting the king. They justified a supply, which would be amply compensated by saving the country from plunder; they contended for a cessation, which would relieve a harassed kingdom from numbers of desperate troops, and particularly of the rapacious Scots. The earl of Clanricarde was earnest in remonstrances to his friends and kinsmen, not to reject this favorable opportunity of saving themselves and their country; lord Castlehaven was indefatigable in inspiring his associates with sentiments of moderation and peace: and the instances of such men proved at length successful.

AFTER much contest and delay, it was at length resolved, that the agents of the confederacy should treat with the marquis of Ormond at Sigginstown, near Naas. They appeared moderate and complying, and, particularly, receded from the demand of an immediate dissolution of parliament. Yet the treaty was necessarily protracted, by the difficulties which arose about settling the quarters of both parties during the cessation. When this point was at length adjusted, the Irish agreed to grant the king thirty thousand pounds, one half in money, to be paid at several periods, the other in cattle. When the articles had been finally adjusted, Ormond communicated them, in form, to the lords Clanricarde, Roscommon, Dungarvan, Brabazon, and Inchiquin, some privy counsellors, and principal officers of the army, who had all attended and assisted in the treaty. They subscribed a declaration, that considering the circumstances of the king-

VOL. III. 2 D dom,

dom, they conceived it necessary for his majesty's honor and service, that the cessation should be finally concluded, on the articles now laid before them. On the fifteenth day of September, the treaty was signed by the marquis and the Irish commissioners. It received the ratification of the justices and council, and was notified by a public proclamation to the whole kingdom.

SUCH was the conclusion of this treaty, which, however justified by the necessities and distresses of the king's affairs in Ireland, was yet received with discontent and clamor, in this and in the neighbouring kingdom. That party of the Irish confederates who had opposed the cessation, affected to lament the obstinate blindness of their associates, who by an unseasonable and injudicious truce, had first broken their power and union, stopped the current of their victories, and allayed their ardour for war. Those of the protestants, who were most deeply impressed with a horror of popish barbarity, disdained to see the men, whose hands yet reeked with the blood of their brethren, left to enjoy the fruits of their inhuman outrages. They, whose imaginations had been long possessed with the prospect of forfeitures, were impatient to find their hopes suspended, if not totally frustrated.

BUT the English parliament, above all others, were provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raising money to support their own contest, and was purposely contrived to give assistance to their adversary. From the very moment that they first received an intimation of the intended treaty, the marquis of Ormond became the object of their resentment. They who had declared to the Irish agents sent to solicit relief, that if five hundred pounds might save their kingdom, it could not be spared, now affected the utmost commiseration for their protestant brethren of Ireland. New schemes of raising money for the Irish service were devised; and the utmost indignation expressed by parliament, that the distresses of this kingdom should be

be imputed to their neglect. Before they had been certainly informed of the conclusion of a treaty, they issued a solemn declaration against a design so impious. In this they ascribe the disorders of both kingdoms to one cause, the influence of jesuitical practices, and a horrid scheme of destroying the protestant religion. They magnify their zeal for the service of Ireland, and assume the merit of every advantage gained against the rebels. "God hath been pleased," say they, "to bless our endeavors with such success, as that those furious blood-thirsty papists have been stopped in the career of their cruelty; some part of the protestant blood, which, at first was spilt like water upon the ground, hath been revenged: their massacres, burnings, and farnishings, have, by a divine retaliation, been repaid into their bosom." They impute the design of a cessation to the artifice of the rebels, who were in a far worse condition than the protestants, reduced by "the remarkable judgment of God," even to feed one upon another; and who laboured a treaty of cessation, in order to gain some respite for reaping the harvest, and receiving their expected supplies without molestation. They acknowledge their apprehensions of the king's deriving some assistance from such a treaty, or to use their own language, of the Irish forces uniting with the popish party of England. They complain, that the lords and commons, to whom the care of Ireland had been committed, had not been consulted on this intended treaty. To the rumours of such a treaty they boldly impute those distresses of the protestant army, pleaded as a pretext for the cessation; rumours, which had discouraged adventurers, and stopped contributions: they, therefore, pathetically call on all those who are well affected to the protestant religion, those who, by their adventures, have embarked their particular interests in the public service of Ireland, to obviate this plea of necessity, by their liberal contributions, as "the cry of much
" protestant

Rush-
worth,
Vol. VI.
p. 555.

"protestant blood, the great indigence of many ruined families, and the danger of their religion, all most exiled out of Ireland, call for this last act of piety, charity, justice, and policy."

The falsehoods by which this declaration is disgraced are indeed flagrant, but possibly not altogether intentional. It is certain, that the great partizans of the parliament in Dublin were, about this time, detected in transmitting the most scandalous misrepresentations of the state of Irish affairs. The people of England in general had neither leisure nor disposition to enquire accurately into the circumstances and transactions of Ireland. The barbarities of the rebels seem to have possessed them with an indiscriminate aversion to the whole kingdom, and enflamed their detestation of popery. They knew not the strength of the popish party in Ireland; and when a great and formidable majority of inhabitants were treated by a feeble government with any degree of moderation, they were scandalized at the condescensions shewn to impious and barbarous idolaters. Several of the king's adherents ascribed the cessation to the counsels of the queen and her favorites. Some regarded it as a contradiction to those solemn protestations, which Charles had repeatedly made against popery; and declared, that after this fatal discovery of his real sentiments, they could no longer continue to support his cause.

C H A P . VI.

Forces sent from Ireland to the assistance of the king
Their ill success Ormond created lord lieutenant
His embarrassments from the Scots, and from the Irish
Adventures and undertakings of Antrim He is created
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His disappointments He takes the oath of association,
and accepts a command from the confederates Final is-
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the Irish confederacy Affairs of Ulster The cove-
nant eagerly taken by the British forces of this province
New commission sent to Monroe He seizes Belfast
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forces offered to Ormond They demand that he should
proclaim the Scots and their adherents rebels He evades
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the popish agents Their final demands Extravagant
requisitions of some protestant agents Propositions of-
fered by those of the Irish privy council Charles embar-
rassed His answer to the Irish agents His speech
on their departure He transfers the treaty to the mar-
quis of Ormond Difficulties of this lord Lords
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land Practices of the confederates in foreign courts.
Their military operations Duncannon taken by the
Irish Progress of lord Castlehaven treaty renewed
with Ormond Earl of Glamorgan, and the nuncio Ri-
mnccini.

munccini expected in Ireland. . . . Temper and proceedings of the Irish clergy. . . . New demands of the confederates. . . . Arrival of the earl of Glamorgan. . . . His commissions, and secret treaty. . . . The negotiations with Ormond apparently concluded. . . . The king unhappily defeats his own purposes.

Carte.
Letters,
vol. III.
No.
clxxiii.

A. D.
1643.

CHARLES avowed that the cessation was preparatory to a peace with the Irish: at the same time, he declared against consenting to any peace, but on terms agreeable to conscience, honor, and justice: yet his present situation forcibly tempted him to a relaxation of these principles, and to accommodate his political conduct to his difficulties and distresses. The Scots, whom, from experience of their temper and resolution, he justly dreaded, were united with their brethren at Westminster, by that formidable bond of confederacy the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. Their forces were preparing for a descent on England, to support rebellion, as the loyalists expressed it; but in the bold language of the Northerners, for the help of the LORD, and his servants the parliament and their adherents.

Ibid.
No. clxix.

Carte.
Orm.
vol. I. p.
471.

THE zealous professions of the confederate catholics of Ireland, as they were now styled, the sanguine assurances of powerful support lavished by their agents in England, the vigilance of Ormond in keeping the protestant forces of Leinster firmly attached to the royal cause, all contributed to possess the king with confident expectations of assistance from an Irish army. He had directed the marquis of Ormond, that as soon as the cessation should be concluded, he should send over such forces as could be spared. About two thousand effective men were chosen from the Leinster army. Provisions for their embarkation were made with difficulty. They landed in North Wales; while lord Inchiquin, with equal difficulty, contrived to transport several regiments from Munster, to the West of England. The troops thus destined to the king's service were protestants;

protestants; many of them Englishmen by birth, who considered their return to their native country as a happy escape from the calamities they had endured in Ireland: all were bound by a solemn oath to defend the protestant religion as established in the ^{Borlase} church of England, to maintain the king's person and prerogative against all his enemies, and particularly the earl of Essex and his forces. Yet, scarcely had the troops landed in Wales, when the whole country was alarmed with the dreadful intelligence of four thousand Irish rebels, still reeking with the blood of protestants, now arrived on the coast, and impatient to extend their barbarous fury into England. Sir William Brereton, who com- ^{Carte.} manded in these quarters for the parliament, was ^{Orm.} not ashamed to transmit this intelligence to London, ^{vol. I.} at the very time when, by his letters to the officers ^{p. 471.} of these troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the protestant religion, and laboured to seduce them from their attachment to the king. In London his representation was implicitly received, and industriously propagated. They who did not think it necessary to affect the most ghastly consternation, observed with scorn, that the Irish rebels were now ^{White-} to join the popish armies of the king and queen, ^{locke,} and in conjunction with these associates, to settle the ^{p. 75.} religion and liberties of England.

BRERETON, as if he believed his own fiction fled precipitately before the troops of Ireland. They were reinforced by thirteen hundred foot, and one hundred and forty horse, sent by the marquis of Ormond. Lord Byron, the general, issued from Chester, took some castles, routed Brereton, pursued him to Namptwich, and laid siege to the town. But here, after some ineffectual efforts, he was attacked and defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax: almost all the principal officers were made prisoners, with twelve hundred private men. All the artillery, baggage, and ammunition of the army fell into the ^{Borlase.} hands of the enemy. And the zealous royalists had ^{Carte.} the mortification to find, that in the battle, some of their

their men deserted to Fairfax, notwithstanding their solemn oath; and numbers of the prisoners were persuaded to take arms for the parliament. Byron, with the remains of his army, retired to Chester, where he was seasonably reinforced by some additional detachments from Ireland.

Carte.
Lett.
vol. III.
No. cxcii.

It had been debated whether the marquis of Ormond should not be called to England, to command the Irish forces; but the circumstances of Ireland still seemed so critical, the management of this kingdom so essential to the king's interests, and the fidelity and authority of the marquis so conspicuous, that it was not only resolved that he should continue in his present residence, but that he should be appointed chief governor, with the more honorable title of Lord Lieutenant.

Carte,
vol. I.
p 485.

He was to enter on this office amidst a variety of difficulties, supported only by that enthusiastic loyalty, by which Ormond was distinguished. In the northern province the Scottish general, Monroe, disclaimed the cessation. And though, when he had first slaughtered some unoffending Irish peasants, he consented to wait the orders of the state of Scotland, or parliament of England, before he should proceed to further acts of hostility, yet he soon received instructions to carry on the war, without regard to the king's chief governor. The Irish confederates, who commanded in most parts of the other provinces, were still turbulent and factious. The subsidies they had engaged to pay were irregularly and slowly remitted: they infringed the articles of cessation, and committed various outrages: nor were the English sufficiently restrained from plundering. Orders were issued in some places, that the Irish should hold no intercourse or traffic with them: thus several English garrisons were in danger of being abandoned, from the apprehension of famine. Various disputes arose about quarters; so that the attention of the chief governor was considerably engaged in hearing the accusations, and composing the

Borlase.
Cox.

the violences of each party. What was still more alarming, when the king had exposed himself to the odium of seeking assistance from the Irish, notwithstanding all their magnificent promises, the Irish Carta. Orm. vol. I. p. 474. refused to send any forces into England; although they promised the emissaries of France and Spain, that levies should be allowed for the services of their respective courts. In vain did the marquis of Ormond represent the danger of delay, the duty and the policy of sending effectual assistance to the king, before their common enemy should finally prevail, or his majesty be enabled to regain his authority without their assistance. The confederates were unalterably possessed with a notion that the encreasing distresses of the king must oblige him to purchase their assistance, by concessions still more liberal and important; so that they could not be prevailed on, even to suffer arms and ammunition to be purchased in their quarters for the royal service.

In the mean time, Charles was perpetually amused with vast hopes of assistance from Ireland, not only against his English enemies, but those of Scotland. The earl of Antrim had escaped from the custody of Monroe, passed into England, and was received with peculiar favor in the queen's court. Thep 477. preparations for war in Scotland roused his enterprising genius. He instantly formed the design of raising forces in Ireland for the assistance of Montrose against the Covenanters. On his first landing to execute this project, he had the misfortune of falling again into the hands of Monroe. After some Carta. vol. III. No. cxi. months confinement, (the king having in vain de- Vol. I. p. 477. manded that he should be set at liberty) he again contrived to escape from the castle of Carricfergus; and was conducted to the quarters of Owen O'Nial. A catholic lord, of considerable power at the court of England, supposed to be not at all averse to the cause of the confederates, was received by this general with deference. Hence he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was treated by the supreme council with equal deference. They offered him an honorable Vol. III. 2 E command

command in their army, and urged him to take the oath of association. But as such a sudden engagement was not suited to his projects, he waited on the king, to whom he magnified his interest with the confederates, and openly avowed his design of being chosen generalissimo of the whole popish party in Ireland. He secretly flattered himself with hopes of being advanced to the lieutenancy of this kingdom; and to purchase his honor, proposed to lead ten thousand Irish into England for the king's service, and to detach three thousand into Scotland against Argyle.

Carte.
vol. III.
No.
ccclix.

THE scheme of raising, arming, and maintaining ten thousand men by the interest and authority of a single nobleman, was justly regarded as extravagant and hopeless; and even the more practicable design of sending three thousand into Scotland, was not entirely unexceptionable. It was apprehended that such an attempt might call away Monroe and his forces to their own country, at a time when the king's service required that they should be detained in Ulster, and prevented from bringing any assistance to the Scots. But it was soon found that the Scots could effect their invasion of England without the help of their associates in Ulster; which made this caution less necessary. It was urged, that it must even prove highly advantageous to the king's cause that Monroe should be forced from Ireland: as in this case, the Irish, relieved from the apprehensions of a powerful enemy, would be the better enabled and disposed to serve the king; and although the earl of Antrim should not succeed to the full extent of his sanguine expectations, yet some good consequences might attend his practices with the Irish; particularly he might contrive to attach numbers among them to the king's cause, in case of a new rupture. These arguments, assisted by the solicitations of the queen, prevailed on Charles to grant him a commission for commanding such forces as he should raise. To enliven his zeal, he was promoted

No.
ccxxxii.

No.
ccxlv.

Vol. I.
p. 478.

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to the dignity of a marquis, and his ambition was further flattered with hopes of being created duke of Argyle, if he could suppress the present lord of this name and his adherents. By a letter from the queen he was recommended to the favor and support of Ormond; and thus embarked on his enterprize, attended by Daniel O'Nial, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, who was deemed a person fit to advise and correct the levity of the new marquis.

Carte,
vol. III.
No.
clxxiii.

Vol. I.
p. 479.

He arrived at Kilkenny, and addressed himself to the supreme council, from whom he expected the utmost attention and support. His requisition of ten thousand men for the service of the king in England they absolutely rejected. He treated for the purchase of arms and ammunition for prince Rupert, the council consented to supply them, but objected to every practicable mode of payment. He demanded three thousand troops for the Scottish service: they replied, that if he would raise them from his own northern clan, they would assist him with some arms, ammunition, and provisions, on condition that a convenient port in Ulster should be assigned for their reception, and be commanded by an officer named by them; a demand which manifested their purpose of securing the possession of some northern port; and which Ormond could not grant, yet contrived to evade, without giving any pretence to the Irish for denying or suspending their supplies.

Vol. III.
No.
ccxlii.

ANTRIM was impatient of difficulties and delays; and flattered himself, that by forming a stricter connection with the confederate Irish, he should remove them. At the English court he had boasted his vast power and consequence in Ireland; to disappoint the expectations he had thus raised, was intolerably mortifying; at the hazard, therefore, of his own danger, and the utmost scandal to the king's cause, he accepted the oath of association, by which he became a party with the confederates, was sworn a member of their supreme council, and appointed lieutenant-general

Vol. I.
p. 480.

general of all their forces engaging to make use of no other commission but theirs, and to transport no troops without their consent. All the confidence of Antrim seemed now to revive; but served only to expose him to new mortifications. Some Irish parties, who affected to act independent of the confederates, he undertook to persuade from their revolt; but soon found it necessary to leave them to the arms of lord Castlehaven. He entered into a negotiation with Monroe, imagining, that he could prevail on this general to submit the Scottish forces to his lordship's direction: but here again he proved the vanity of his expectations. What was still more alarming, when he had contrived to levy some forces among his followers, the supplies promised by the confederates were still delayed. When Ormond had, with great difficulty, procured transports, the ships* of the English parliament lay ready to intercept them. At length, however, on the taking of Liverpool by the king's forces, these ships quitted their stations; and all the vast projects of the marquis of Antrim ended in transporting about two thousand men to Scotland, long after he had assured Montrose of an immediate and powerful reinforcement.

A. D.
1644.

DURING these transactions, the marquis of Ormond experienced various difficulties in supporting
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* A remarkable instance of barbarity is recorded of Swanly, a commander of one of these ships. He had taken a transport vessel, with one hundred and fifty men, bound for Bristol. The English parliament in their first indignation against the design of engaging Irish forces to fight against them in England, voted that no quarter should be given to these forces, or in the less offensive language of their own resolution, that "they should be tried by martial law in the place where they should be taken." It was a resolution which could not be executed, without exposing their own adherents to the like severity; yet Swanly selected seventy of his captives, who were of Irish birth, and although they had faithfully served the king, yet the merciless wretch instantly plunged them into the sea. *Carta*, Vol. I. p. 481. Vol. III. No. ccc.

and regulating his army, preserving the public peace and managing the proud and intractable spirits of the Irish confederates. His favorite object was, to break their union; and, for this purpose, he desired a power of granting pardons to such particulars as should return to his majesty's obedience. The demand was discovered to the confederates; nor were they insensible of its dangerous tendency; yet Ormond was not discouraged. He held his correspondence with some of their principal leaders: he flattered their ambition; he hinted, that by zealously exerting themselves in the king's service, they might hereafter be preferred to such places of trust and honor as suited their birth and quality, and enjoy that consequence in Ireland which their inferiours of English birth had hitherto obtained. Many considerable places were now vacant, which were eagerly solicited by various competitors about the court of England. These he recommended to be still kept unfilled; at least, that they should be conferred on moderate Irish protestants, as the method to which neither party could justly except, and the safest to be pursued for allaying national discontents. Carte, vol. I. p. 483.

BUT the affairs of Ulster were of all others the most embarrassing to the chief governor. Owen O'Connolly, now the creature of the English parliament, had been made bearer of their letters to the British colonels in this province, recommending to them to disclaim the cessation, and to take the covenant. On these conditions, they were assured of their arrears, and full provisions for their future maintenance. Monroe's officers, and those of the old Scottish regiments, were all eager for the covenant, and had already sent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement. The English regiments under the command of Ormond, were better affected to the royal cause. But their necessities were urgent; and their hopes of relief depended on complying with the orders of parliament. Ormond advised their colonels, instead of precipitately violating the
cessation,

cessation, at least to imitate the example of Monroe, and to desire time to consider, and to receive directions from the state. He urgently represented the iniquity of the covenant, and furnished them with a proclamation issued by the Irish government, forbidding all persons to tender or accept it. But such were their apprehensions of the Scottish general, of the spirit of his forces so violently inflamed against all opposers of the covenant, and of the displeasure of the English parliament, that they refused to publish this proclamation at the head of their regiments. They contented themselves with secretly persevering in their attachment to the king; at the same time they returned such answers* to the parliament as might conciliate their favor, and procure some supplies.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 488.

ALTHOUGH the forces of Monroe had ruined the estates of these English officers, and distressed them in their quarters, yet agreeably to their instructions, they laboured to detain this army in Ulster. But when the opposition of the marquis of Newcastle had alarmed the Scots, orders were dispatched from Scotland to recal Monroe to the assistance of his countrymen. The old Scottish soldiers and inhabitants of the northern province were distracted at the

* They declared a great willingness to prosecute the war, with the consent of the king and parliament. This Mr. Carte imputes entirely to motives of policy. But he himself hath observed, that in their final agreement for carrying on the war, they declared, that in their consciences they were satisfied of the justice of this measure (vol. I. p. 495.) And this seems to be the truth. Their province was best provided with forces; they were, therefore, least sensible to the arguments of necessity for an accommodation with the Irish. They had been witnesses, and some of them sufferers from the outrages of the first insurgents. They were the most deeply impressed with the horror of their barbarities. Whatever, therefore, were their professions to the marquis of Ormond, it is natural to suppose, that in their hearts they condemned a cessation which left the northern Irish not only unpunished, but in full possession of the advantages gained by their brutal cruelty.

the thoughts of being abandoned by their brethren. Levies were made from all orders and parties indiscriminately for the service of Scotland; and abundance even of the most barbarous Irish rebels engaged to fight against the king. The people grew clamorous: they complained, that the country was in danger of depopulation, that the peasants had abandoned their husbandry, and that a general famine was approaching. The English officers laboured to allay these terrors, when other orders arrived countermanding the departure of the Scots. So that the English and Irish levies only were transported, together with some Scottish regiments who grew impatient at the delay of their supplies, and insisted on returning to their associates of Scotland.

BUT scarcely had the province recovered from this agitation, when ten thousand pounds, some clothing, and provisions, were remitted to Monroe from Scotland, together with four ministers of the kirk to enforce and tender the covenant. These missionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal, through every parish of the counties of Down and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with enthusiastic ardour. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peasants, all flocked round them, all contending for the glory of running foremost in the godly cause, and first accepting an engagement so precious, and so essential to the welfare of their souls. The prohibitions and menaces of government, the proclamation against the covenant, which some English colonels, at length, ventured to publish to their regiments, only served to enflame the general fervor. Private men and subalterns, who had secretly taken the covenant, now boldly avowed it, and bad defiance to their commanders. They who refused to be united with the godly by this holy vow, were regarded as impious wretches, unworthy the rights of humanity; nor would the inhabitants supply them with the necessaries of life. They, who had ever appeared most attached to the royal cause,
now

Carte.
vol. I.
p. 490.

now caught the popular contagion. Audley Mervin, so noted for his nauseous harrangues, inveighed with such vehemence against the covenant in the parliament of Dublin, expressed such loyalty to the king, and declaimed so copiously against the English commons, and their neglect of Ireland, that the marquis of Ormond deemed him a proper person to be entrusted with the government of Derry. Scarcely had he entered on his new office, when he was prevailed on to take that engagement which had been the object of his severest censure.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 493.

Monroe, and his officers, had taken the covenant with great solemnity in the church of Carricfergus. Yet this general affected the utmost moderation, leaving it entirely to the kirk-ministers to prevail, by pious exhortations, without attempting any violence against those who refused this oath. But the English officers of the royal party were not deceived by this apparent lenity. They every moment expected an order from the English parliament for imposing the covenant by force; and their apprehensions were confirmed, when a commission from the English houses, under their broad seal, was received by Monroe, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster, Scottish and English, in their name, and under their authority, and to carry on the war against all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royalists assembled at Belfast to resolve on an answer to be returned the Scottish general, when he should require them to submit to his command. In the midst of their consultation, Monroe contrived to surprise the town. Hence he marched to take possession of Lisburn, but was foiled in his attempt by the spirit and vigilance of the English officers. The Ulster forces were thus on the point of declaring war against each other. The superior number of the Scots were formidable to the English; the resolute spirit of the English was alarming to the Scots; an amicable agreement was the interest of both; and a stipulation was soon framed and subscribed. It was agreed, that

that the English should not be forced to take any oath contrary to their consciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they should first address themselves to the English parliament, and represent their reasons and scruples to the contrary: that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions, and have the same privileges and appointments with the Scots. On these conditions, they engaged to join with Monroe in a vigorous prosecution of the Irish rebels, unless his majesty's command should hereafter contradict their further proceeding.

THE seizure of Belfast, and the union of the Ulster forces, were incidents both alarming and provoking to the confederate Irish at Kilkenny. Their forces were scattered, their generals divided by frivolous competitions. Their pride was enflamed by that consequence which they had gradually acquired. While they detached Castlehaven to the assistance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he should accept the supreme command of all their forces, and march against the stubborn Northerners with the whole united power of the royalists; for in this party the Irish affected to be ranked. At the same time, they required that he should proclaim the Scots rebels, in consequence of their outrageous infringement of the cessation.

It was obvious for Ormond to reflect, that by accepting the command of the Irish, he must blend the rightful power of the king with the usurped authority of the rebels, in a manner odious to every protestant subject, disgraceful to his royal master, and really dangerous to himself, however the bold measure might be recommended by some present advantages. To issue a proclamation against the Scots, and to brand their adherence to the parliament with the name of rebellion, appeared equally dangerous and obnoxious. It must afford them a fair pretence for their opposition to the king, furnish

nish them with plausible arguments for seducing others, and provoke numbers of protestants, puritans at least, if not secretly favourers of the covenant. The marquis, therefore, could not, consistently with the plainest rules of prudence, irritate the English parliament, already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of almost all his forces. On the other hand, it was dangerous to disoblige the Irish. They might find pretences for with-holding that part of their subsidy which remained unpaid. They had promised to supply him with corn and cattle; they might retract this promise: they might cut off all commerce and freedom of markets. The scanty and precarious remittances from England, if not intercepted by the ships of parliament, yet were utterly inadequate to the necessities of government. So that his hopes of subsistence depended on the Irish, who, if once provoked, might reduce him to sudden famine.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 498.

In this situation, Ormond resolved, instead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuse them with a treaty tending to their own purpose, but in a different manner. He pleaded the want of direction from the king, and the impropriety of declaring against the Scots, before he had received explicit orders. In the mean time, he proposed that the Irish should make provisions for the payment and maintenance of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse of his majesty's forces. With this body, thus effectually supplied, he engaged to restrain the Scots from violating the cessation, or annoying the provinces. The Irish were sensible that by proclaiming the Scots rebels, the king must in effect avow, that he depended entirely on their confederacy for the subsistence of his power and government in Ireland: and in the fullness of their pride insisted on this measure. For the same reason, Ormond, strenuously, yet artfully, opposed their desires. Some time was necessarily spent in propositions, answers, and replies: and in this interval it appeared

appeared, that the Scottish general, notwithstanding the violence of his declarations, and some attempts to re-commence hostilities, was really not inclined, or not enabled to prosecute the war with vigor.

WHILE the marquis of Ormond thus contended with the wants and distresses of the state, the arrogance of the popish confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters, Oxford was an important scene of Irish negotiation. By the articles of ^{Carta,} cessation, the confederates were allowed to send ^{vol. I.} agents to the king, and to treat about a final peace; ^{p. 419.} that event, on which Charles rested his hopes of a powerful reinforcement from Ireland, and for which he was of consequence, particularly solicitous. The commissioners of the popish party were chosen in November, of the year 1643: but by the diversity of opinions in their assembly, the difficulty of adjusting their instructions, and the propositions to be offered from their body, these commissioners did not appear before the king until the twenty-third of the ensuing month of March. Their first propositions discovered the confidence and vanity of their party. Besides the public establishment of the popish worship, they demanded a repeal of the acts for encouragement of adventurers, which they must have known that the king could not procure. They required that no standing army should be maintained in Ireland; and at the same time, that their own supreme council should be continued, until all their grievances were redressed by parliament, and even for some time after. They insisted, that all offices, whereby any titles to lands were found for the crown, since the first year of Elizabeth, all attainders since that period, all grants and leases from the crown in consequence of such attainders, should be revived in a free parliament. Thus, they in effect required the extinction of the English power in Ireland; and by expressing a determination to break off all conference with men so intractable and extravagant

vagant, soon reduced the Irish agents to less imperious terms. They withdrew these obnoxious propositions, and offered others which they stiled moderate and reasonable, and the very lowest which they could devise, consistently with the freedom of Irish subjects.

Of these their moderated demands, the most important were, the freedom of their religion, by a repeal of all penal statutes: a free parliament, with a suspension of Ponyngs' law, during its session; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since the seventh day of August 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all subsequent disorders; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Irish catholics, since that day; a release of debts, and general act of oblivion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands since the year 1634, and an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of an inn of court, and, seminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic subjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives without exception, to places of trust and honor: that no persons not estated and resident in Ireland, should sit and vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act should pass, formally declaring the independency of their parliament on that of England; that the jurisdiction of the Irish privy-council should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and that during his government, he should be disqualified to purchase any lands in the kingdom, except from his majesty. To these, and other articles of less consequence, they added, with an affected indignation, at the charge of cruelty urged against their party, that a parliamentary enquiry should be made into all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman barbarities committed on either side, and that the offenders should be excluded

ed from the act of oblivion, and brought to condign punishment. On the grant of these propositions, they declared their readiness to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's service : and, particularly, to contribute ten thousand men towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion of England.

HOWEVER inadmissible many of their demands appeared, yet Charles accepted the whole memorial as a foundation for a treaty, and such as, with due discussion, and some concessions on each side, might produce no very offensive peace. But whatever was the king's impatience for this event, he found the progress of it grievously retarded by the contention of Irish parties, popish and protestant, both irritated and violent, and both alike unreasonable in their demands. He had directed that some experienced men should be sent from the privy council of Ireland to assist in this treaty. They nominated archbishop Usher, and eight others, of whom the King summoned four to his assistance. But a number of zealous protestants, not acquainted with this transaction, or not entirely confiding in the nomination of the council, assembled at the house of the earl of Kildare, and chose four persons, by whom they desired, and were permitted, to present their petitions to the king. To this number, Sir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parsons, were afterwards added ; by what authority seems not very material to enquire, as they were received as agents from the protestants of Ireland by the king. The whole party was of the puritanic cast ; possessed with a violent aversion to popery, enflamed against the professors of this religion, by a painful recollection of the late disorders in Ireland, suspicious of the king, and Coote and Parsons, at least, who took the lead in their transactions, devoted entirely to the interest of the English parliament. In the alacrity of their zeal, they had contrived to present themselves at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Irish council, and summoned by the king, had yet arrived.

THEY

Borlase.
Cox.
vol. II.
p. 140.
and
Append.
No. xx.

THEY were received with sufficient grace, and immediately presented the petition of that body of protestants from whom they derived their authority. The king expressed a tender sense of their distresses; and acknowledged, that they had truly stated the iniquity of the first popish insurgents; intimating, however, that some distinction should be made between these and the gentry of the Pale, who, he seemed willing to believe, had been forced into rebellion by the Irish chief governors. Provoked at any tenderness expressed towards the popish party, and much more at the attention and respect with which their agents were received at a court, where the influence of the queen was too predominant, these men grew importunate and bold. They demanded permission to enter into a particular confutation of the Irish remonstrance framed at Trim: they required a copy of the propositions lately presented by the Irish agents: they were reproved, yet not dismayed; they exhibited a copious answer to this remonstrance together with a collection of propositions from the Irish protestants, dictated by the spirit of triumphant pride, as if they had already vanquished and subdued the whole popish party.

THEY required the most rigorous execution of the statutes against recusancy, and the immediate banishment of all the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the protestants; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved; that their whole party should be disarmed, compelled to repair all damages sustained by protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release or discharge: that the oath of supremacy should be strictly and universally imposed on all magistrates, and that they who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which nothing should be attempted derogatory to the law of Poynings, the great bulwark of the royal power,
and

and protection of the protestant subjects of Ireland ; that the king should take all forfeited estates into his own hands, and after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the residue entirely to British planters.

THE peremptory manner in which these, and some other propositions of the like import, were enforced, was astonishing to the king and his ministers. It was suggested, that they had been framed Cox. in London, to render any attempts to an accommodation with the Irish odious, and, perhaps, to provoke them to a sudden violation of the truce. The agents were told, that demands impossible to be enforced by the whole power of their party, though supported by the royal authority, could not possibly be dictated by the protestants of Ireland. They were desired to explain how the war could be carried on, if the Romanists should refuse to submit to such severe conditions of peace : they were reminded of the king's embarrassed situation, and exhorted to accommodate their demands to the exigencies of present times and circumstances. But they continued Borlase. intractable and obdurate. They insisted that they were duly authorised to offer these propositions : and a committee of the Irish parliament, (so were a few members styled) testified, that they delivered the sense of the whole protestant party. " They were entirely ignorant of the king's circumstances : they were but to propose the sentiments of his good subjects, and to prove their allegations. They thought it better that the protestants should Carte. even abandon Ireland for a time, than make a Orm. destructive peace." At the same time, if we may vol. I. p. 505. believe Mr. Carte, they discovered their real sentiments, and with a provoking insolence declared, that the king had nothing more to do, but to submit to the terms of peace proposed by the English parliament, and then there would be no want of supplies for the Irish war.

THE

THE commissioners deputed by the Irish council were now arrived. They condemned the extravagance of these propositions, and solicited Coote and his associates to withdraw them. But these men were immovable: and when their own scheme of an accommodation came to be considered, their demands, though not so arrogant, were yet found utterly inconsistent with the king's circumstances, and impossible to be enforced. They particularly represented it as essential to the security of all protestant subjects in Ireland, that the recusants should be disarmed, and the penal laws strictly enforced. It was in vain for the king to propose to the Irish agents, that their party, superior as they were in power, and possessed of more than three parts of the kingdom, should consent to resign themselves, unarmed, to the mercy of those whom they had so grievously provoked. And even in times of peace, the penal laws were too odious to be strictly executed; much more at the present juncture, when the catholics, in their pride and confidence, demanded such concessions in favor of their religion, as would reduce the established church merely to a state of precarious toleration. It was therefore, evident, that no treaty could be concluded upon the terms proposed by the protestants; it was scarcely less evident, that the most violent of this party laboured to obstruct a treaty upon any terms. Charles had a lively feeling of his own necessities; and his impatience for a peace, which was to give him such a powerful body of Irish troops, was enflamed by the suggestions of the queen; who, in the conflict of parties, possibly believed, that all but the catholics were infected with what was called in her court the spirit of rebellion; and readily wrought her unhappy consort into a persuasion, that his catholic subjects only were worthy of his confidence. Whether he was as yet fully possessed with this prejudice or no, he treated the agents of the confederate Irish with particular attention, and answered their

their propositions with that courtesy and condescension which he had been taught by his misfortunes.

SOME of their demands he had consented to ^{Carte,} grant, previous to the Irish insurrection; and in ^{Orm.} these points, he made no difficulty to repeat his ^{vol. I.} promises. In others it was neither odious nor ^{p. 506.} unreasonable to comply. The discussion of that delicate point, the independency of Ireland, as it was called, he was willing to refer to both Parliaments, to be temperately and equally decided. He agreed to pass an act for removing any incapacity from the natives of Ireland to purchase lands or offices; and was satisfied to allow recusants their seminaries of education. Instead of reversing acts of parliament, indictments, and attainders, he proposed to grant a general pardon, and to assent to such an act of oblivion as should be recommended by the Lord Lieutenant and Council. He was content to call a new parliament in Ireland, but without suspension of the law of Poynings. To their proposition for a repeal of penal statutes, he replied, that as these statutes had never been rigorously executed, so his recusant subjects, on returning to their duty and loyalty, should have no reason to complain that they were treated with less moderation than in the two former reigns; and that such of them as manifested their affection to his service, should receive such marks of favor in offices and places of trust, as would plainly shew his acceptance and regard of them.

THE Irish agents, flattered and conciliated by the condescensions of the king, demeaned themselves with modesty and submission. They confessed, that his majesty, circumstanced as he was, could not in their opinion, make any farther concessions, and hoped that the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, when informed of his situation, would moderate their demands, though they themselves had no present authority to recede from them. The king dismissed them with a pathetic admonition, to consider his circumstances

Clarendon and their own: " that the existence of their nation and
 Irish Reb. " religion depended on the preservation of his just
 Dub. Ed. " rights and authority in England; that if his ca-
 p. 21. " tholic subjects of Ireland would consent to such
 " conditions as he could safely grant, and they ac-
 " cept with security to their lives, fortunes, and re-
 " ligion, and hasten to enable him to suppress his
 " enemies, it would then be in his power to vouch-
 " safe such grace to them as should complete their
 " happiness; and which, he gave them his royal
 " word, he would then dispense in such a manner as
 " should not, leave them disappointed of their
 " just and full expectations. But if, by insisting on
 " particulars, which he could not in conscience
 " grant, nor they in conscience necessarily demand;
 " and such, as though he might concede, yet, at
 " present, would bring that damage on him which
 " all their supplies could not countervail, and yet
 " might be hereafter granted with equal benefit:
 " if they should thus delay their succours, until
 " the power of the rebels had prevailed in England
 " and Scotland, then they would quickly find their
 " power in Ireland but an imaginary support for
 " his interest or their own; and that they, who with
 " difficulty had destroyed him, would without op-
 " position root out their nation and religion."

Such were the declarations of a prince who had repeatedly protested against tolerating popery, and particularly against repealing the penal laws of Ireland. His zealous advocate, Mr. Carte, was so scandalized at the most obnoxious part of this address, that he has thought proper to soften, if not to misrepresent the expressions recorded by the noble historian. Yet with all this apparent strength of language, Charles seems, in a manner not unusual to him, carefully to have avoided that real precision, which might confine him in his future conduct. It was his present purpose, to persuade the Irish, that a full and free establishment of their religion, would

would prove the reward of their services. But without any special and explicit engagement, he leaves it in his own power hereafter to decide, whether such a concession were included in the number of their just expectations, or necessary to complete *their happiness*. Some important concessions, he knew, were of necessity to be made, before the Irish would consent to take arms, in his cause. To accept of their assistance upon any terms, rendered him doubly odious to his enemies, and to his friends was only reconciled by the distress of his affairs. To what terms he might yield, without offending and alienating his own party, was a point of delicate and critical discussion. The king could not decide it, his ministers would not advise him. Should they recommend too favourable concessions, they were exposed to the resentment of the popular party: should they declare against indulgence to the Irish, the queen was offended; and her creatures accused them of indifference to the royal cause. In this perplexity, the king readily yielded to such plausible arguments as statesmen can at any time suggest for any measure favorable to their private purposes, and resolved to lay the whole burden and odium of treating with the Irish, on the marquis of Ormond. He received a commission to make a full peace with the catholic subjects of Ireland, on such conditions as he should judge agreeable to the public welfare, and might produce such an union in that kingdom that his majesty might derive assistance from it, to suppress the rebels of England and Scotland.

Ormond was sensible of the danger and difficulty attending such a commission. He was to settle terms of accommodation, which the king and his ministry could not, or would not venture to adjust. If the people of England were averse to any peace with the Irish, the English inhabitants of Ireland had felt their outrages, and were particularly provoked. Should he grant any concessions to the popish party, his delegated authority might be questioned and opposed, and he would naturally be

Carle.
Ormond.
vol. I.
p. 508.

Carte.
Orm.
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p. 402.

he accused of partiality to his kinsmen, of whom many had united with the Irish confederates. Should he refuse such concessions, these kinsmen would reproach him as the partizan of their inveterate enemies, men who sought the utter ruin and extirpation of their race. But the power and inveteracy of the English parliament were still more formidable; an assembly which would infallibly denounce the utmost vengeance against him, should his conduct give offence to their passions or prejudices, while the royal authority was too weak to protect him. To complete the difficulty, he received no instructions from the English court; was told, that he was to expect no instructions; and thus was to assume the whole conduct of a delicate transaction, in which the king could not take any part.

THE difficulties of his government seemed already sufficient to confound the best abilities, and scarcely admitted this additional embarrassment. He was oppressed with want, hopeless of relief, blocked up at sea, encompassed with enemies; the Irish proud and querulous: the Scots, though not active, yet insolent and troublesome: and the southern province agitated by a sudden revolution highly alarming to the royal party. Lord Inchiquin had commanded in Munster since the death of Saint Leger, but without the title of Lord President. He claimed this office as the reward of his zealous services: but, on application to the king at Oxford, found, to his utter mortification, that it had been already granted to the earl of Portland; nor could he even obtain the reversion of it on the death or resignation of this earl. To justify this injudicious and unwarrantable treatment of a lord who had deserved so well from the king, some reports were whispered injurious to his character. He returned to Munster fired with resentment; entered into a secret negotiation with the English parliament; engaged that his brother, who commanded in the town of Wareham, should deliver it into their hands, and that he himself would unite zealously in their cause.

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He was received with open arms, and encouraged to avow his purpose, by promises of large and immediate supplies. He began with petitioning the king to submit to an accommodation with his parliament of Ireland, and the parliament to assist him against the Irish, and pretending to have discovered, that his party had formed a scheme for seizing his garrisons, he drove out the magistrates and all the popish inhabitants from Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, and seized their effects. His officers took the covenant with great alacrity: and though he himself declined it until the cessation should expire, yet he bound his soldiers by an oath to endeavour the extirpation of popery, to prosecute the war against the Irish, and to submit to no peace but with allowance of the king and parliament of England. Lord Esmond, governor of the important fort of Duncannon, was readily persuaded to follow the example of Inchiquin: the Scots of Ulster promised to concur with him, so that the flame of war seemed ready to break out again with great violence and extent. But Monroe and his forces, after some motions and inconsiderable skirmishes, soon sunk into their usual inactivity: and Inchiquin, neglected by the English parliament, was soon obliged, for the preservation of his forces, and the protestants of Munster, to make a cessation with the Irish.

IN this situation of affairs, the marquis of Ormond commenced his treaty with the confederates. Their commissioners attended him at Dublin on the sixth day of September, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-four: and in the first place, it was agreed without any difficulty, that the cessation should be prolonged; but the controversies about peace proved more perplexing. The Irish were every day more elevated with ideas of their own power and consequence, and the hopes of extorting vast concessions from the necessities of the king. Their clergy, by the removal of the treaty to Dublin, had full power to exert their influence. One of this order,

der, Fleming, the popish archbishop of Dublin, had been nominated one of the commissioners to attend the lord lieutenant. Ormond, who knew the spirit of such men, absolutely refused to confer with him. But public characters were not necessary to enforce their authority; and their authority seems to have borne down all the efforts of the temperate and more penetrating of their party. Certain it is, that the Irish commissioners now appeared to have forgotten or disregarded the promises made to the king, and the sense expressed of his equity and grace. They offered the very same propositions which had been presented at Oxford, together with some others of less moment. Particularly they required, what could not be granted in the present juncture, that the Scots and Lord Inchiquin, who concurred in opposing the cessation, should be declared traitors. For this, they claimed a promise from the king; and his minister, lord Digby, acknowledged that such a promise had been given, provided that a peace or cessation should be first concluded. Thus, did Ormond, possibly for the first time, discover a secret train of negotiation between the king and the catholics of Ireland. But from his knowledge of the temper of the Irish protestants, he deemed it necessary to decline this measure; and for his own honor, as well as that of his royal master, returned the same answers to the Irish commissioners which their propositions had already received in England. To their demand of a repeal of all penal statutes enacted against the professors of their religion, he answered, by repeating the royal promise that these statutes should not be enforced; a new parliament he refused: a suspension of the law of Poynings he opposed; nor could he consent to an act of oblivion so extensive as they required. He demanded, that the Irish should abolish their usurped government, restore all towns and castles to the king, the churches to the protestant clergy, and to the laity their estates and property. The propositions

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ons made, and the answers returned, Ormond cautiously determined to lay before the king. The treaty was adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January: and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners by a vessel in the service of parliament, all further proceedings were suspended until the month of April, 1645*.

In this interval, Charles made fuller discoveries of that fatal instability, and that indulgence to the Romish party, so odious to his enemies, and, indeed to the general body of his protestant subjects, and so repugnant to his solemn promises and declarations. At the very time when he agreed to enter on the treaty of Uxbridge, he entertained the flattering hopes of raising such an army from abroad, as should enable him to crush all his opposers. The queen amused him with expectation of ten thousand Lorrainers ready to be poured into Eng-^{Rush-}land for his service. The Irish magnified their^{worth.} power and disposition to support him: and such potent allies he was impatient to purchase at any price. The confederate catholics carried on a sort of pri-^{Carta.} vate negociation with him, by their agents, lord^{Orm.} Muskerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne.^{vol. II.} The last of these, in particular, presented a memo-^{Append.} rial, intimating, that his party was inclined to moderate their demands with respect to religion, provided that his Majesty would condescend to them
in

* About this time Mac Mahon and lord Macguire, who had taken a leading part in the Irish conspiracy, were condemned and executed in London. They had lain two years in the Tower, had contrived to escape, but were discovered, retaken, and immediately brought to their trials. Macguire pleaded a right of being tried by his peers in Ireland; but the plea was over-ruled, and the two houses confirmed the opinion of judge Bacon, that he was triable by a jury in England. They rejected his petition to be beheaded. So that he was drawn to Tyburn, and executed in the ordinary manner.

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Orm.
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in other articles. Charles conceived new hopes from such professions, and became more and more complying. In his public answer to the marquis of Ormond's dispatches, he directs him to adhere to those terms he had already offered to the catholics, only, "*so far forth* as he shall find it probable that "they shall rest satisfied to accept them." He allows him to consent to the suspension of Poyning's law; but as to the demand of repealing the penal statutes, expressly directs him to adhere to his former answer. Yet, in a private letter, dated two days earlier, he formally engages, not only that the penal laws shall not be executed, the peace being made: but that when the Irish should give him the assistance they had promised, and he be restored to his rights, then, that he would consent to the repeal of them all by a law, except those against appeals to Rome, and the exercise of foreign jurisdiction within the realm. No concession could be more odious or more dangerous. He, therefore, directs that Ormond should communicate it only to the three popish agents, with injunctions of strictest secrecy.

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A MONTH had scarcely elapsed, when the king became still more complying. The commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge, had been urged as a motive to the Irish confederates, to conclude a peace before the King should be prevented from granting them any favor, by the stipulations which he might find necessary to be made with the English parliament. When this treaty was broken off, they were again told, that their very existence depended on their speedy and effectual support of the royal cause, as it appeared in the conferences, to be the determined purpose of the parliament to invest the Scots with the entire dominion and property of Ireland. Such popular topics were the more urgently enforced, as the king now deemed it more necessary to obtain some foreign succours, than in any former period of the civil war. The new projected

jected model of the parliamentary army threatened some momentous consequences. As Charles expressed it to his queen, "there was little or no appearance but that the approaching summer would be the hottest for war of any that had yet been." Rushworth's King's Cabinet opened. With respect to the Irish, therefore, the king spurned at every scruple. He empowered and commanded Ormond to make peace with the Irish, "whatever it cost," so that his protestant subjects might be secured, and his royal authority preserved in Ireland. Carte Orin. vol. II. No. xviii. "You are to make me," said the king, "the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And, though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poynings' act for such bills as shall be agreed on there, and THE PRESENT TAKING OFF THE PENAL LAWS against papists by a law will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honor."

WHATEVER plausible reasons might be urged to reconcile this repeal of the penal statutes to the conscience of the king, or his sentiments of honor, Ormond well knew the dangerous effects of such a measure, and particularly in a country where a vast majority of the inhabitants were popish. He was sincerely attached to the protestant religion; he knew the temper, the passions, the prejudices of the protestant party, and their horror of the least concession in favor of popery; the odium, and the danger in which he must be involved, by treating upon terms which the king could not avow; and he probably foresaw, that the Irish would be encouraged by such important concessions, to rise in their demands. No wonder, therefore, that on the first discovery of the king's disposition to recede from those terms which he had hitherto professed to hold

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most sacred, the marquis grew impatient of his present situation. He petitioned to be removed from the government, professing to apprehend, that the confederates expected more from a countryman and kinsman in this station, than could with propriety be granted, and that he must shortly be obliged to abandon it by want, or be reduced to a dishonorable subjection to the insolence of the Irish, or the covenanters.

A. D.
1643.

CHARLES, and his ministers, were fully sensible of the value of Ormond's services in the lieutenancy of Ireland. He had just now approved his vigilance, by discovering and defeating a design formed by some partizans of the English parliament, to seize the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk. And his credit, his influence, and his attachment to the king, were considered as the only security to the royal cause, against the power of the catholics, and the subtilty and turbulence of the covenanters. To reconcile him to the burden of a station from which he could not be removed, Charles loaded him with such graces as in his present circumstances he could bestow; he enlarged his powers; and to encourage him to proceed with more alacrity in the delicate and dangerous transactions entrusted to his conduct, a general pardon of all offences, passed under the great seal, to the chief governor, privy-counsellors, and others employed in any part of the king's service.

Among the additional powers granted to the marquis, he now received a commission which he had formerly solicited, for accepting the submissions of such Irish confederates as were inclined to peace upon the terms offered by the king, and for restoring them to their estates and blood. Charles thus hoped to divide the counsels, and to prevent any cordial union of their party, should they still reject his concessions, and declare ultimately for war. To dispose them, at the same time, to an amicable treaty; and particularly, to reconcile them to the continuance of the present Irish parliament, he condescended

descended to declare, that the order made under the administration of Parsons, for excluding such members of the commons as should refuse the oath of supremacy, was an encroachment on his prerogative. The lord lieutenant was directed to require that this order should be vacated. The zealous protestants could not but feel the most serious apprehensions at this indulgence to popish recusants, which must give them a formidable superiority in the Irish legislature. Their party had services and sufferings to plead. To prevent their clamours, and to dispose them favourably to the king, a bill was transmitted from England, and enacted in the Parliament of Ireland, for remitting to the protestants of this kingdom, as well clergy as laity, all rents, compositions, services, twentieth parts, and first fruits, due to the king at Michaelmas 1641, or at any time since, or to be due at Easter 1645.

In the mean time, the Irish laboured with indefatigable zeal to strengthen their confederacy, so as to maintain a war, or conclude a peace with advantage to their cause. Foreign princes were solicited for succours. Burke, one of their ecclesiastics, was dispatched to Madrid. Richard Belling, secretary to the supreme council, an acute and active statesman, was commissioned to address himself to the pope, the Italian princes, and to the marquis of Castle-Rodrigo, governor of the Low-Countries; "that they might know (as the letters of the confederates expressed it) what they had to trust to, and what succours they might really depend upon from abroad: and that, in case they should be again forced to *serve God in holes and corners*, the world might be convinced, they had laboured all they could to prevent this misfortune." Their agents were also busily employed at Paris, and swarmed in the queen of England's court, on her retreat to France. One of these, a meddling ecclesiastic, called O'Hartegan, had so disgraced them by his presumption, vanity, and indiscretion, that Belling was instructed

Carte,
from the
Registry
of the
Supreme
Council.

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instructed to use all decent means to bring him back to Ireland. To recommend themselves to foreign courts, and to demonstrate their own power and consequence, about fourteen hundred foot were transported for the service of France, and other levies made for that of Spain, though, when Ormond applied to them to send two thousand men to the assistance of Montrose in Scotland, they repeatedly rejected, or evaded his demand. Their resolution was explicit, and they obstinately adhered to it, that "they would send no men to the king's assistance, until such a peace should be settled as might demonstrate that they had really taken arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it in its full splendor."

NOR were they less vigorous in their military operations against those who declared for the parliament, and rejected the cessation. Scarcely had lord Esmond, governor of Duncannon, resolved to betray his fort to the parliament, when he had the mortification of finding himself neglected and abandoned by his new masters. The supreme council at Kilkenny were alarmed at the defection of this place, fearing that their trade would be destroyed by the ships in the service of the ROUND-HEADS, as they called them, which lay securely in the river under protection of the fort. Their troops blocked up Duncannon on the land-side, in the beginning of January: but as the sea lay open, the blockade was converted into a regular siege, commanded by Preston, the Leinster general. After a resistance of ten weeks, the fort surrendered: and Esmond, the governor, died in a few days after, worn out with age and vexation.

LORD Inchiquin, equally neglected by the English parliament, was encountered, on the expiration of his truce, by the earl of Castlehaven, at the head of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse. The earl over-ran the southern province, and reduced a number of forts without any considerable resistance. At Rostellan he had the triumph of seizing Henry O'Brien,

O'Brien, who had betrayed Wareham to the English parliament, and sent him as a present to the king, to be punished for his disloyalty, as his majesty should seem fit. The forces of Inchiquin were unequal to those of the enemy, and so wretchedly were they provided, that he could not keep the field, so that he was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, while Castlehaven wasted the country even to the walls of this city. When he had, at length, invested Youghal, lord Broghil arrived with some supplies from the English parliament. The earl raised the siege, and on the approach of winter retired to Kilkenny.

WHILE these things were transacting in the field, ^{Carte,} Dublin became a scene of almost perpetual negotiation. ^{vol. I.} The treaty between Ormond and the Irish ^{P. 540.} confederates was by appointment to be renewed on the tenth day of April. The confederates wished to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents, and weakly conceived, that by delaying their decisions until the king should be plunged into new and greater difficulties, they might extort more advantageous terms. They proposed that the conferences should be still farther postponed. The chief governor insisted, that they should be resumed on the day appointed. The Irish agents attended him, but not in such a number as their powers required. A week was thus lost. They then declared, that as their general assembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they could conclude nothing without their approbation; that they were confined merely to deliver their propositions, and to debate the matter of them, desiring the best answers that could be afforded, and promising, if possible, to prevail upon their party to accept them.

ORMOND, with more liberal conceptions of the king's real interest, and greater solicitude for his honor, than the unhappy prince himself discovered, concealed the additional powers he had received for consenting to the abrogation of the penal statutes. He treated on the terms formerly proposed, that the
royal

royal promise should be given, that these statutes should not be executed on the conclusion of a peace. He satisfied the Irish agents, that a suspension of Poynings' law was by no means necessary, as the king's concessions would be conveyed to them with equal speed and security in the ordinary course of parliamentary proceedings. Among some new graces to which he yielded, the Irish were to be released from all the king's rents and revenues they had received from the first insurrection; and all attainders, indictments, and outlawries against any of their party were to be vacated. It had formerly been agreed, that the king should confer all places of trust and honour in Ireland, with equal indifference on catholic and protestant subjects. By virtue of this agreement, the agents now affected to consider it as a settled point, that the king had obliged himself to employ an equal number of each party. Ormond opposed this dangerous interpretation, and peremptorily rejected the demand. Yet with a due mixture of dignity and condescension; he dismissed the agents apparently well disposed to peace; and was flattered with expectation, that their general assembly would speedily decide in favor of the royal interests.

But this assembly, however apparently united in one common cause, was composed of discordant parties, influenced by various motives, and agitated by different passions. The Irish of Ulster were still conscious of their enormities, and impatient of being despoiled of their hereditary possessions. They were of consequence, obstinately determined against any peace which should not fully secure their persons, and utterly subvert the northern plantations. The clergy, who had the whole commonalty at their devotion, laboured to obstruct all measures of accommodation which might not gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes. Too ignorant to discern, and too selfish to regard the real interest of their party, they entertained their imaginations with gay prospects of riches, power, and magnificence, and
intoxicated

intoxicated their partizans with declamations on the splendour of religion.

THE impatience which Charles expressed for a final accommodation with the Irish was not long a secret to their leaders, and fatally contributed to enflame their pride, and to defeat the purposes of this insiguided prince. He had relied solely on the marquis of Ormond for negotiating with the Irish; the zeal and abilities of this minister, assisted by the more moderate and intelligent of the confederates, might possibly have conducted the treaty to a seasonable conclusion, and obtained him such a reinforcement from Ireland, as would have had an important influence on his affairs. But Charles was now unhappily seduced into a vain dependence on secret councils and private agents.

Among the most zealous partizans of this prince, Birch's was Edward Somerset, lord Herbert, eldest son of Inquity. the marquis of Worcester. Attached to Charles not only by principle, but personal affection, he had raised a considerable body of forces for his service, at his own and his father's expence. In return for his services, a warrant passed under the royal sign manual for creating him earl of Glamorgan; and although his patent had not received the great seal, he assumed, and was generally addressed by this title, even by the king. His manners were gentle and conciliating, his imagination lively, his temper sanguine, and the opinion which he entertained of his own consequence was encreased by some enormous instances of royal favor. Charles, amused with hopes of vast services to be performed by this lord, had created him generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, with a power of naming all the inferior officers of this imaginary body. He empowered him to contract with any of his subjects for wardships, customs, or any of his rights and prerogatives; entrusted him with blank patents, to be filled at his pleasure for conferring titles of honor, with a promise of his daughter Elizabeth to the son of

of this favorite in marriage, with a portion of three hundred thousand pounds. He was a Roman catholic, and attached to his religion with remarkable zeal. He had taken to his second wife, Margaret O'Brien, daughter of the late earl, and sister of the present earl of Thomond, so that he had some possessions, and was allied to some of the most powerful families in Ireland.

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GLAMORGAN, on some real, or pretended business, declared his resolution of visiting this kingdom about the end of the year sixteen hundred and forty-four. The king recommended him to the lord lieutenant, informing him that he had engaged this lord to further the peace by every possible means, expressing the utmost confidence in his affection and integrity; yet at the same time, hinting some suspicion of his judgment. At first view it may appear extraordinary, that the king should employ a man for whose judgment he declared he could not answer in a transaction which required the utmost circumspection and address. But, if we suppose him conscious, that he might hereafter find it necessary to disavow the transactions of Glamorgan, such a previous declaration to his Lord Lieutenant is at once accounted for: it was made purposely to give the greater force and plausibility to his disavowal. The marquis received from his friends no very favorable representations of Glamorgan and his undertakings: yet, in his public dispatches he expressed a solicitude for his arrival in Ireland; at the same time, that he disclaimed a particular knowledge of any commissions or instructions he was to bring with him. These commissions, however, were the subject of much discourse among the king's friends. The confederate Irish were filled with magnificent expectations from a nobleman of such influence and power, connected with them both by affinity and religion, to be sent into Ireland, with full authority to hear their demands, and to grant them such

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such conditions as could not be yielded by the intervention of any other agent, nor publicly acknowledged in the king's present embarrassments.

Nor were the Irish less elevated by the success of their embassy to Rome, and the attention paid them by the Holy See. Innocent the tenth was naturally solicitous to distinguish the commencement of his popedom by some extraordinary expression of zeal for the interests of religion. He received Belling, minister of the confederate Irish, with particular respect; and, in return to their application, resolved to send a nuncio into Ireland, who should take advantage of the present circumstances of this kingdom, for restoring and establishing the Romish religion, and reducing the people, if not to be tributary to the apostolic see, at least to be subject to the gentle yoke of the pope's spiritual power. The person chosen for this office was John Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, a noble Florentine, eloquent, graceful, and conciliating in his address, regular, and even austere in his life, but ambitious, fiery, and vain, bigotted, and superstitious, with an extravagance of spiritual pride, and even a fanatical prepossession, that he was the appointed instrument of Providence for the conversion of the western islands.

Among other instructions for promoting the great general purpose of his mission, he was directed to unite the prelates of Ireland in a firm declaration for war, until their religion should be completely established, and the government of the kingdom entrusted to a catholic lord lieutenant. In the meantime, he was to practise with the marquis of Ormond, to prevail on him, if possible, to deliver up Dublin and Drogheda to the Irish, and, above all things, to return to the bosom of the Roman church. In his way to Ireland, he was directed to visit the queen of England at Paris, to assure her that religion was the sole object of his mission, and that no designs were

entertained against the prerogatives of the crown of England; and, at the same time, to dissuade her from some intention she had expressed of going to Ireland, as her presence might embarrass the religionists, and give strength to the neutral and moderate party, besides the expence of her establishment, which might be more usefully employed in war.

THE expectation of two such distinguished personages destined to favor and support the cause of the confederate Irish, elevated their hopes, and exalted those ideas of their own consequence, which had been inspired by success, and the condescensions of the king. Their general assembly indeed, in their new session, on the fifteenth of May, received the propositions of the marquis with so much temper, that the penal statutes seemed the only remaining obstacle to peace. The earl of Clanricarde expressed his confidence to the chief governor, that if he would grant a repeal of these statutes, a final accommodation must immediately ensue, and that the Irish would at once embark their lives and fortunes in the royal cause. But the Irish clergy now sat in convocation, factious, proud, selfish, and even the least exceptionable of their order, zealous to recommend themselves to the pope and his minister, by an extraordinary solicitude for the interests of the church. They declared, that by the oath of association, the confederate catholics were bound to stipulate expressly, that the churches, abbeys, monasteries and chapels, now in their possession, should for ever be retained. The more moderate of the assembly were provoked. They demanded, that this declaration, which loaded them with an infamous charge of perjury, should be retracted. After various altercations, the clergy could be only prevailed on to declare, that they meant not to involve the agents of a peace in the guilt of perjury, though no express article should be inserted for keeping possession of the churches, provided that the effect should be obtained. With all the zeal of men fired with the prospect

prospect of riches and honors, they thundered the danger of the church into the ears of their bigotted followers; they declaimed against the impiety of any peace, which should not invest their prelates with full jurisdiction, together with the right of sitting in parliament now usurped by protestants: they taught them to combine, to declare, and to protest against the present treaty. And, although the assembly pronounced such proceedings to be seditious and traitorous, yet so far were they influenced by the ecclesiastical party, that they refused to restore the churches to the protestants; and rejected every expedient proposed for removing this new obstacle to a peace.

THE battle of Naseby, so fatal to the king's cause, served to encrease the arrogance of the confederates. Instead of reflecting, that their own fortune was involved in that of the king, and that the final triumph of the popular party threatened their nation and religion with all these consequences which Charles had foretold, they imagined, in their vanity and presumption, that they might demand new concessions, and extort new advantages from the misfortunes of this prince. Their propositions, with respect both to their civil and religious interests, grew every day more and more enormous. They demanded, that the plantations formed in Wicklow and Kilkenny should be instantly abolished, and those of still greater consequence in the northern province, should be considered in a free parliament, and all grievances arising from these establishments examined and redressed; that they should retain the forts and cities they possessed, and exercise their government until all the articles of peace were irrevocably confirmed by an act of parliament; that they should not only have an equality of numbers and eminence of places in all civil and military offices, but that the king's favor should be manifested in this respect, by some immediate instances: that they should have schools and universities; that their prelates should exercise jurisdiction

diction without controul; that all penal statutes, whether enacted against recusants by Henry and Elizabeth, or in earlier reigns against provisors, should be utterly abolished; and that the churches in their possession should neither be demanded nor expected.

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CHARLES, in the first shock of consternation, doubted whether his defeat had not rendered all Irish succours useless to his affairs. He expressed his indignation at these extravagant demands; he directed Ormond, that if the Irish should take so unworthy an advantage of his weakness, as to reject a peace on any other terms, he should, if possible, procure a further cessation; if not, endeavour to divide their party, and rather leave all things to the chance of war, than grant such an allowance of popery as must evidently prove destruction to the protestant profession. This prince, however, flattered himself, on recollection, that Irish troops might still be usefully employed. Lord Digby was directed to write to lord Muskerry, and the other agents, who formerly attended at Oxford, to remind them of their fair professions to the king, and to represent the danger to their own party, from insisting on demands repugnant to his honor and conscience, and which no extremity of distress ever could extort from him. Ormond briefly stated the sum of those concessions which the Irish might expect. They differed little from those already offered. He consented to a repeal of the penal statutes enacted against recusants; and to convince them of his majesty's intentions to employ all his subjects of Ireland with equal indifference, offered that a body of catholics, consisting of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, should be added to the king's army on perfecting the articles of peace.

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EVERY possible contrivance was employed to delay the answer to these propositions of the chief governor; for the earl of Glamorgan was every day expected, and after escaping many dangers from ships commissioned by the English parliament, at length

length arrived in Ireland. On preparing for his journey he had amused the king with magnificent expectations. He promised in the month of June to lead six thousand Irish forces into England; to reinforce them with four thousand royalists of Wales; to block up Milford Haven with his transports; to advance thirty thousand pounds, with a considerable quantity of arms, and to raise the sum of thirty thousand more. But he was detained too long in England to fulfil these vast engagements: nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the end of July. He was received by the marquis of Ormond with the attention due to a nobleman highly favored and entrusted by the king; and on his departure to Kilkenny was recommended to lord Muskerry, in a letter from the marquis, as a person whose authority with the king, and whose innate nobility might be especially relied on, and one whom the chief governor would endeavour to serve above all others, in every thing which he should undertake for the service of his majesty; and with whom he would most readily agree for the benefit of the kingdom.

King's
Cabinet
opened.

Birch's
Inquiry,
p. 62.

If the particular instructions or commissions granted to Glamorgan were not communicated to the lord lieutenant; it appears, at least, from this warmth of recommendation, that he considered the earl as a person duly authorised to treat with the Irish. The Irish were offended at that stateliness with which Ormond conducted their treaty. Their zealots considered him as secretly disaffected, and in conjunction with a presbyterian council, (as they called them) determined to defeat the king's hopes of succour, by obstructing the Irish peace. To this they attributed every delay; and when the seizure of the king's cabinet at Naseby discovered his private instructions to Ormond, to conclude a peace whatever it might cost, they were enraged, and printed the letter with severe animadversions on the marquis. In such a temper, they received Glamorgan with particular satisfaction;

Aphorismal
Discovery.
MS. Trin.
Col. Dub.

satisfaction; and taking advantage of the letter written by Ormond to lord Muskerry, affected to consider it as a formal stipulation on the part of the chief governor, to concur with the earl in all his transactions, and to ratify all his engagements.

Birch's Inquiry: Two commissions from the king were produced by Glamorgan to the confederates. The first was dated on the sixth day of January, 1645, N. S. and is thus translated from the Latin of Rinunccini's Memoirs,

“ CHARLES R.

“ WHEREAS we have had sufficient and ample testimony of your approved wisdom and fidelity, so great is the confidence we repose in you, as that whatsoever you shall perform, as warranted under our sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without farther ceremony, we do in the word of a King and a Christian, promise to make good to all intents and purposes, as affectually as if your authority from us had been under the great seal of England, with this advantage, that we shall esteem ourself the more obliged to you for your gallantry in not standing upon such nice terms to do us service, which we shall, God willing, reward. And although you exceed what law can warrant, or any powers of ours reach unto, as not knowing what you have need of; yet it being for our service, we oblige ourself, not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power; and though either by accident, or by any other occasion, you shall deem it necessary to deposite any of our warrants, and so want them at your return, we faithfully promise to make them good at your return, and to supply any thing, wherein they shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this time to dispute upon them; for of what we have here set
“ down

" down you may rest confident, if there be faith and
" truth in men. Proceed therefore chearfully, speedily,
" dily, and boldly; and for your so doing this shall
" be your sufficient warrant.

" GIVEN at our court at Oxford, under our sign
" manual and private signet, this 12th of January,
" 1644."

THE second, more formal and particular, and that on which the earl chiefly rested his authority, was dated the twelfth of the succeeding month of March, when Ormond had discovered his reluctance to continue in his office, or to treat with the Irish on such liberal concessions as the king had empowered him to grant. It was conceived in the following terms.

" CHARLES R.

" CHARLES by the grace of God, of England,
" Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the
" faith, &c. to our trusty and right well-beloved
" cousin, Edward earl of Glamorgan, greeting.
" We, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do
" by these, as firmly as under our great seal, to all
" intents and purposes, authorise and give you
" power to treat and conclude with the confederate
" Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if
" upon necessity any be to be condescended unto,
" wherein our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in,
" as not fit for us at present publicly to own.
" Therefore we charge you to proceed according to
" this our warrant, with all possible secrecy; and
" for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon
" such valuable considerations, as you in your
" judgment shall deem fit, we promise on the word
" of a King and a Christian, to ratify and perform
" the same that shall be granted by you, and under
" your hand and seal; the said confederate catholics
" having by their supplies testified their zeal to our
" service

“ service. And this shall be in each particuler to
 “ you a sufficient warrant.

“ GIVEN at our court at Oxford, under our sig-
 “ net and royal signature, the 12th of March, in the
 “ twentieth year of our reign, 1644.”

By virtue of this commission Glamorgan entered on a private treaty with the confederates, with a vain impatience to be distinguished, as the leader of ten thousand Irish forces, and the person who was to restore the king to his independence, power, and splendour. Abbate Scarampi, agent to the pope, remonstrated against the scheme of making peace publicly with the marquis, and privately with the earl, and of separating the religious from the civil articles: yet within about one month after his arrival the treaty was concluded.

Cox,
 Append.
 No.
 xxvii.

ON the king's part it was agreed by Glamorgan, that all Roman catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, possess all the churches not actually enjoyed by protestants, exercise their own jurisdiction, and be exempted from that of the protestant clergy; that an act of parliament should be made to confirm these concessions, and to render catholics capable of all offices of trust and dignity; that the marquis of Ormond should not disturb the catholics in these, or other articles to which the earl had condescended, until his majesty's pleasure should be signified, for confirming them. And, for the due performance of all these articles, Glamorgan engaged the royal word. On the part of the confederates it was stipulated, that ten thousand men should be sent by order of their general assembly, to serve the king in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl, and such other officers as the confederates should appoint; and that two-thirds of the revenues of the clergy should be assigned to the maintenance of this body for three years.

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IN explanation of these articles, the confederates, for the present, receded from the demand of an act of parliament for securing the concessions to the clergy, as difficult and prejudicial to his majesty. Glamorgan engaged, that they should be settled in another way equally secure; and bound himself by oath, to acquaint the king with his proceedings; "in order to his service, and the punctual performance of what he had, as authorised by his majesty, obliged himself to see performed: and in default, not to permit the army entrusted to his charge, to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his majesty, and by his majesty, be performed." With an additional caution, the general assembly resolved, that their union and oath of association should remain firm and in full strength, until the articles of this peace should be ratified in parliament.

IN consequence of this treaty, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth day of August, the general assembly, on the ninth of the succeeding month, passed a vote for levying ten thousand men for the royal service; and, as it was still necessary to continue the public treaty with Ormond, Glamorgan, who was impatient for the honor of conducting such a reinforcement into England, solicited the marquis to make all the concessions he was authorised to grant, and for the rest to appeal to his majesty. Carta. vol. I. p. 552.

ON the renewal of the treaty with Ormond, every article to the civil interests of the confederates, was debated with due temper, and adjusted without difficulty. The propositions with respect to religion were extravagant and insidious, amounting to nothing less than a legal establishment, not only of the Roman worship, but the papal jurisdiction. Ormond cautiously opposed these demands. The Irish agents, conscious of the transactions with Glamorgan, proposed that no clause in the treaty should

preclude the catholics from such farther graces as his majesty might be pleased to grant. The proposal was accepted. Lord Digby now arrived in Dublin, and laboured to conciliate the Irish and expedite their succours. It was mutually agreed, that all the propositions relative to religion, the great obstacle to an accommodation, should be referred entirely to his majesty. The peace seemed on the point of final settlement; the king every moment expected the embarkation of his Irish succours, when new difficulties arose, and the very means employed for his service, defeated the purposes of this unhappy prince.

C H A P. VII.

Rinuccini sent to Ireland as nuncio. . . . His conference with the queen at Paris. . . . Projects of the English catholics. . . . The nuncio arrives at Kilkenny. . . . His reception by the supreme council. . . . His conference with Glamorgan. His objections to the treaty of peace. . . . His practices with the Popish bishops. . . . He obtains new concessions from Glamorgan. . . . Military affairs. . . . Sligo taken. . . . Attempt to recover it. . . . Defeat and death of the Archbishop of Tuam. . . . Glamorgan's private treaty disclosed. . . . He is impeached by lord Digby, and imprisoned. . . . His examination before the council. . . . His conference with Ormond. . . . His liberty demanded by the supreme council. . . . He is discharged. . . . His transactions disavowed by the king. . . . The king's private letters to Ormond and Glamorgan. . . . Zeal and artifice of the nuncio in opposition to the peace. . . . Delays and altercations. . . . New concessions of Glamorgan. . . . His engagements and promises to the nuncio. His confident assurances to the king. . . . Treaty concluded with the marquis of Ormond. . . . He is solicited to join with the Irish against the parliamentarians. . . . His cautious and spirited answers. . . . The king's letter from the Scottish army. . . . Lord Digby's declarations. . . . The peace ratified and proclaimed. . . . opposed by the nuncio. . . . Ignorance and bigotry of this prelate. . . . He engages Owen O'Nial in his service. . . . Battle of Benburb. . . . Effects of this action. . . . Proclamation of the peace opposed in several cities. . . . The adherents of the peace excommunicated. . . . Ormond invited to Kilkenny. . . . Is received with joy. . . . Project to intercept him. . . . He regains the capital. . . . Nuncio's entry into Kilkenny. . . . He imprisons the members of the supreme council, and appoints a new council. . . . Vain expectations of Glamorgan and the nuncio. . . . Pre-

Preparations for the defence of Dublin . . . Ormond treats with the English parliament . . . The confederates invest Dublin . . . Their demands . . . Their dissensions . . . Digby and Clanricarde practise with the nuncio and Preston . . . Sudden retreat of the confederates . . . Treaty between Clanricarde and Preston . . . Negotiation of the marquis of Ormond with the parliament broken off . . . Ormond reluctantly involves himself in the engagements of Clanricarde . . . Preston suddenly reconciled to the nuncio . . . A new general assembly declares against the peace . . . Ormond renews his treaty with the parliament . . . Futile attempts of the confederates to defeat it . . . The parliamentarians masters of Dublin . . . Ormond resigns the sword of state, and departs from Ireland.

A. D.
1645.

DURING the whole course of negotiation, a numerous party of confederates had discovered a solicitude to restore the public peace. They saw the necessity of supporting the king; were willing to accept terms of moderate advantage to their party, and contented with a free enjoyment of their religion, without the splendor of a public establishment. The clergy did not fail to inveigh against this desertion of the church. Their agents at Rome represented the danger from impious temporizers labouring to conclude a peace without due provision for the interests of religion; and to avert it, Rinuccini was directed to hasten into Ireland.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 559.

Birch, Inquiry.

It was justly dreaded by the king's friends, that the presence of this nuncio, and his practices with the Irish clergy, would prove a dangerous embarrassment to a treaty too long protracted, and suspend, if not prevent the succours expected from the confederates. The queen of England would gladly have detained him at Paris until the Irish treaty should be concluded. He had intimated a desire of attending her with the usual solemnity, and presenting his credentials in a public audience. But
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the law of England did not allow the admission of a foreign minister without consent of the king and council; and the English protestants of her court warned her majesty of the danger of such a visit, which would imply a treaty between the king and the pope. The nuncio was too tenacious of the honor of the holy see, to accept a private audience; so that their correspondence was carried on by the intervention of the attendants on each side, Sir Dudley Wyatt and Dominic Spinola.

THE nuncio expressed his attachment to the king, and, according to his instructions, endeavoured to convince her majesty that the business on which he was to proceed would prove the most effectual means of restoring his power and authority. The queen, with equal insincerity, declared her satisfaction at his being appointed to go to Ireland, and the hopes she entertained that by his mediation a firm peace would be established between her royal consort and the Irish, an event equally necessary to the interests of both. She represented the danger to the catholic confederates, should the king be totally subdued, or forced to an agreement with his adversaries. Hence she inferred the necessity, that the Irish should moderate their demands, and not "endeavour to extort THE WHOLE at once." She mentioned her desire, that the nuncio should stay at Paris until the treaty should be finished; that by his endeavours with the pope, he might have the honor of giving success to an affair so ardently desired by all the powers of Europe, who justly trembled at the ruin of the king of England, and dreaded the conjunction of the English parliamentarians with the Hugonots and Dutch, a conjunction hateful and formidable to all monarchies.

THIS intimation was enforced by a memorial which the nuncio received from the catholics of England. They had heard that Sir Kenelm Digby had been sent by the queen to apply for subsidies at Rome. They solicited Rinunccini that these subsidies

dies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the rights and interests of English catholics be equally secured. They proposed to unite with their brethren of Ireland, so as to form one army for defence of the king; but insisted on a previous concession of their demands, and full security for the performance. "The king," said they, "is not to be trusted, when his interest may tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he hath so solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the catholics. And that there can be no reliance on his word, appears from the case of the earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he sacrificed, though sworn to protect them."

In this bustle of negotiation, the nuncio amused himself with the flattering idea, that he had proceeded considerably in the glorious work of extirpating the northern heresy, the object of his labours, and professedly the final object of the English catholics. The queen was solicitous for an absolute pacification in Ireland. The catholics of England, also, represented it as the first necessary step to all their measures, and the means of transporting such a body of Irish troops, as, in conjunction with the English of the same religious profession, would at once serve the king, and over-awe him, so as to extort the performance of these conditions, which if left to his own free choice, he might not grant. A scheme was now revived for transferring the conduct of the Irish treaty to the queen of England and queen regent of France. The nuncio was thus further flattered at the prospect of that important part he was to take in this negotiation, and being regarded as umpire between the king and the catholic confederates. But the court of Room deemed his presence necessary in Ireland, to preserve the interests of the church. He was repeatedly ordered to proceed on his journey, embarked, and arrived at Kilkenny
on

on the twelfth day of November, when the negotiation with Ormond seemed hastening to a conclusion.

In his first audience of the supreme council he ^{Carta} professed the fairest intentions of promoting the in-^{vol. I.}terests of religion and the peace of the kingdom, ^{P. 561.} The council on their part assured him, that all their proceedings should be with his knowledge and concurrence. They explained the several concessions granted by the lord lieutenant in civil affairs; and those of a religious nature yielded by the earl of Glamorgan, a catholic nobleman highly trusted, and duly authorised by the king, to satisfy the confederates in those points which retarded the peace. They explained the necessity of observing privacy with respect to these religious concessions, until the king should be enabled and emboldened to avow them. Some concessions also with respect to religion they had endeavoured to obtain from the marquis of Ormond; and although they had not succeeded to their utmost wishes, yet care had been taken that nothing should be admitted into the public articles inconsistent with the private concessions of the earl of Glamorgan. In such a situation, they observed, it was of the utmost importance to determine what might still be requisite for the preservation of their religion, and support of the king, as his necessities were urgent, the power of the English parliament formidable, and the cessation speedily to determine.

GLAMORGAN also addressed himself to the nuncio ^{Birch,} with particular deference. He declared the utmost ^{from the} reverence for his character, a firm resolution of act-^{Nuncio's}ing entirely with his concurrence and by his direc-^{Memoirs}tion; explained the nature of his commissions to treat with the Irish, together with several other powers he had received from the king, and which demonstrated the extraordinary confidence his majesty reposed in him. He shewed him a letter from the king, sealed, and addressed to pope Innocent
the

the Tenth, as a proof of his attachment to the holy see: and to the nuncio himself, he delivered another letter, in which Charles expressed satisfaction at his purpose of going to Ireland; desiring him to unite with the earl of Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should jointly resolve; recommending a punctual observance of secrecy, and assuring him, that, although this letter was the first he had written to a minister of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last. "When the earl," said he, "and you have concerted your measures, we shall openly shew ourself, as we have assured him,—Your friend."

Carte,
at sup.

THE only effect of such condescensions was to make this vain ecclesiastic more confident and assuming. He objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty as insufficient and precarious. He condemned the design of publishing the political articles, while the religious were suppressed, a matter of great scandal to foreigners, who would obviously conclude, that the honor and freedom of religion had been sacrificed to temporal advantages. The performance of these religious articles, he observed, was doubtful and insecure; the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could insist on such a confirmation, might be suddenly taken off by death. If the confederates were cautious of alienating the protestants, by publishing the religious articles, they should be at least equally cautious of alienating the pope and all christian princes by suppressing them. And even in these boasted articles, he observed, no mention had been made of a catholic lord lieutenant, no provision for catholic bishops and universities, no stipulation for a continuance of the supreme council, or government of the confederates. The council endeavoured to obviate these objections. Various papers were drawn up, discussed, answered,

answered, without any effect, but to confirm the nuncio in his own opinion; and the moderate confederates in their purpose of an immediate accommodation.

THE nuncio, when he found it impracticable to bring the council into his own measures, resolved to give every opposition in his power to their sentiments. He summoned the Romish bishops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined with him in a protestation against the peace, and a resolution to oppose it. Their instrument was not to be produced, "until the treaty" should be *abruptly* or *preposterously* concluded by "the council." Such was the affected style of their resolutions. The nuncio, in the next place, addressed himself to Glamorgan. He gravely observed, that the king should no longer be deceived by heretics; that the safety of his crown depended, next under God, on the pope, and the union of all his catholic subjects with those of other countries; that it was of the utmost moment to his interests to secure the Irish by granting all their just petitions, and that his lordship was bound to apply those extensive powers with which he was entrusted; to the service of the king and monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the orthodox faith. The earl, whose temper and understanding were nearly on a level with those of the Italian prelate, readily yielded to these instances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Irish army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to sign an instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that when ten thousand Irish should be sent into England, the king should oblige himself never to employ any but a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic bishops to sit in parliament, universities to be erected under their regulation, and that the jurisdiction of the supreme council should subsist until all the private articles were ratified.

But all these secret negotiations were suddenly disconcerted by a particular incident. To explain it, we must take notice of some military transactions, which might otherwise be disregarded.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 530.
537.

While the Irish confederates were urgent with the marquis of Ormond to declare the northern covenanters rebels, he was industrious rather to reconcile these forces to the king's service and government. Neglected as they were by the English parliament they expressed their discontents with sufficient warmth; and not only the old British troops, but even Monroe and his Scots shewed some disposition to unite with the chief governor, upon moderate and reasonable terms. The parliament, alarmed at the consequences of such an union, resolved to send ten thousand pounds, some clothes and provisions for the service of Ulster; and that a committee of their own body should visit this province, examine the state of the soldiery, and hear their complaints. In the mean time, Sir Charles Coote, their trusty partisan, whom they had lately commissioned to command in Connaught, was dispatched with a requisition to the British generals of the North, that they should assist him against the rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of strength. After some hesitation, four thousand foot and five hundred horse were detached from the Scottish and English forces. They marched without opposition. Sligo was readily surrendered; and all the adjacent counties exposed to their depredations, to the extreme annoyance both of the rebels and the loyal inhabitants. The earl of Clanricarde, who could have suppressed these outrages, had been denied the presidency of Connaught on the death of lord Ranelagh; and with an high sense of his own dignity, refused to accept the military command, under the order of the new presidents, lord Wilmot and lord Dillon of Costello.

IN this exigence, the marquis of Ormond commissioned lord Taaffe to suppress those who violated the cessation, or broke into the quarters of the loyalists in Connaught: and, with the assistance of Clanricarde, and others of the western province, this lord proceeded with success. At the same time the confederates of Kilkenny, no less alarmed and provoked at the hostilities of the Northerns, directed Sir James Dillon, one of their officers, to march with eight hundred men to the assistance, of the popish archbishop of Tuam, who was employed in collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military prelate led the assault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the British garrison, when his forces were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence of a strong northern army just approaching. They retired, were vigorously attacked and routed by Sir Charles Coote; the archbishop fell in this action: and, in ransacking his baggage, the victors found, among other papers of consequence, a complete and authentic copy of the private treaty which the earl of Glamorgan had concluded with the confederates, and in which was contained a distinct recital of his commission, and of his oath to the confederates.

AN acquisition so important was instantly transmitted to the English parliament. The papers were printed, and industriously dispersed, to the dishonor of the king, the scandal of his protestant adherents, and the utmost exultation of his triumphant enemies. Copies were sent to the lord lieutenant and lord Digby, at Dublin: others were in the hands of many Irish subjects. Those of the popish party, who thus discovered the fullness of the king's concessions, were extravagantly elated; the protestants astonished and dismayed, and the ministers terrified at the prospect of a general revolt of this whole party. The effect ^{Inquiry.} natural to be expected from this discovery, was no-^{p. 98.} thing less than that all good protestants, as lord ^{Rush-} Digby expressed it, should conclude that the scan-^{worth.} dals formerly cast upon his majesty of inciting
" the

" the Irish rebellion, were true; and that he designed to introduce popery, even by ways the most unkingly and perfidious." Something was necessarily to be done for allaying the general ferment, and this with such speed as might manifest an impatience to vindicate the king's honor. So great a zeal did lord Digby express against the proceedings of Glamorgan, that it is sometimes imputed not to a concern for that religion which he afterwards abandoned, but to a sinister design of supplanting this earl in the command of the Irish troops. He seduced Glamorgan to Dublin, under the pretence of adjusting some preliminaries necessary to the immediate transportation of three thousand forces promised by the Irish, and destined for the relief of Chester. In a few days after his arrival, he charged the earl, before the privy council, of a suspicion of high treason, and moved that his person might be secured.

Carte,
vol. III.
No
cccxviii

To support this charge, the treaty, the oath, and the commission of Glamorgan dated on the twelfth of March, were all read at the council board. Lord Digby declared, that any such pretended authority from his majesty must be either forged or surreptitiously obtained; or if possibly the earl had any colour of authority, that it was limited by some private instructions; " for most confident he was that the king, to redeem his crown, his own life, the lives of his queen and children, would not grant to the confederates the least piece of concessions so destructive both to his regality and religion."

Inquiry.
p. 99.

Such was the ministerial language used to the council; yet Digby must have been satisfied, as he had declared to secretary Nicholas, that " it was almost impossible for any man to be so mad, as to enter into such an agreement, without powers from his majesty." Nor could Ormond seriously believe that the king was incapable of granting such a commission as Glamorgan pleaded, or of ratifying his transiactions with the Irish, when he considered the extent of those powers he himself had received from

from his majesty. To gain the Irish to his service, Charles had at first directed him to assure them, that the penal statutes should not be executed. In the next place, he empowered him to promise, that they should be repealed on the conclusion of a peace. When this concession proved ineffectual, we find him authorising his lord lieutenant to consent to their immediate repeal; and that recusants should be relieved from all disabilities of enjoying offices of trust and honor. They had not yet demanded possession of the churches. When they had been encouraged to insist on this article, the king, indeed, in his public dispatches, urged the unreasonableness of such a requisition, and the impossibility of granting it consistently with his honor or conscience. Yet, in a letter to the marquis of Ormond, he discovers no inconsiderable pliancy even in this obnoxious article.

"You must not understand this," saith Charles, Carte.
 "as a permission for you to grant the Irish, in case vol. III.
 "they will not otherwise have a peace, any thing No. cccc.
 "more in matter of religion, than what I have al-
 "lowed you already; EXCEPT only in some conveni-
 "ent parish, where the much greater number are
 "papists, I give you power to permit them to have
 "some places, which they may use as chapels for
 "their devotion, if there be no other expedient for
 "obtaining a peace." The expressions appear cau-
 "tious and moderate; and therefore, probably, have
 not been noticed by those writers who form their
 ideas from the circumstances of England. But in
 Ireland, at this period, there was scarcely a single
 parish which did not precisely correspond with the
 description of the king. So that Ormond, had he
 proved equally complying with his master, might, by
 virtue of this authority, have every where granted
 churches to the Catholics, and established their public
 worship through the whole kingdom.

FROM these circumstances, it seems improbable,
 that Ormond really believed that a nobleman, who,
 he knew, had been employed by the king to nego-
 ciate

Carte.
vol. I.
No.
ccccxviii.
p. 553.

ciate with the Irish, whom, in consequence of this knowledge, he himself had recommended to the Irish, should forge the commission specified in his treaty, or that he had transgressed any private limitations prescribed by the king, when the articles of this treaty scarcely amounted to any thing more than Ormond had himself been empowered to grant. Yet, to allay the public ferment, Glamorgan was committed to custody, and, the next day, examined before a committee of the council. He freely confessed the whole transaction, referring for particulars to the counterpart of the articles lying among his papers, and which he afterwards produced. He declared, that he had not consulted with any but the parties with whom he had made the agreement, "that" "what he did was not, as he conceived, obligatory" "to his majesty;" to which he added on recollection, "and yet, without any just blemish of my" "honor, honesty, or conscience." He conceived that he was authorised by his commission to conclude the treaty; yet he declared, that he had not engaged his majesty's faith and honor farther than by shewing his authority, and depositing it with the confederates. In the copy of his oath, as published by the English parliament, the engagement was expressed with remarkable strength and precision, that the earl should not "permit the army entrusted to" "his charge, to adventure itself, or any considerable part, thereof, until conditions from his majesty, and by his majesty be performed." In that now presented to the council, there was the following material addition,—"or his pleasure known."

To justify the authenticity of this addition, and the truth of his declarations to the council, the earl, in a private conference with the marquís of Ormond, produced the original of a DEFEAZANCE, signed the day after the signature of his treaty, and by the same parties. It declared, that the earl did no way intend by his engagements "to oblige his majesty, other" "than he himself should please, after he had received

“ceived the ten thousand men. Yet he faithfully
“promised upon his word and honor, not to ac-
“quaint his majesty with this defeazance, till he
“had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his
“majesty to grant the particulars of the treaty: but
“that done, the commissioners discharged the earl
“of Glamorgan, both in honor and conscience of
“any farther engagement to them therein, though
“his majesty should not be pleased to grant the said
“particulars: the earl, at the same time, engaging
“by his voluntary oath, never to discover this de-
“feazance in the interim to any person whatever,
“without consent of the commissioners.” As he
had deposited the commission quoted in his treaty
with the confederates, he produced that other, and
more general, dated on the twelfth of January: and
which, with injunctions of secrecy, he permitted Or-
mond to copy. He utterly denied that he had re-
ceived any particular instructions from the king, by
which he might be directed or limited in his nego-
ciation. He declared, that he had acted entirely
from a zeal for the service of his majesty, to accele-
rate the Irish forces, without obliging the king to
any particular articles which he might disapprove;
and from which, possibly, the confederates might re-
cede, rather than recall their men when already
landed in England. It doth not appear, that he
confessed to Ormond his transactions with the nuncio,
and the extravagant concessions to which he had
been seduced by this prelate, or that these were at
all communicated even to the confederate commis-
sioners. One paper he sent for to Kilkenny, to the
great alarm of the confederates, who apprehended,
that the discovery of it would produce dangerous
distraktion in their proceedings. This, however,
he secreted: so that the whole of his transactions
remains still unknown*.

* Mr. Carte has inattentively hazarded a conjecture, whether the se-
creted paper might not have been the duplicate of Glamorgan's treaty,
or the defeazance. Of both these Ormond was furnished with copies.
It

Inquiry,
p. 109—
114.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 562.

In his confinement, Glamorgan discovered no part of that dejection or terror, natural from a consciousness of fraud, forgery, or any unwarrantable transaction. On the other hand, to his wife and to his friends, when writing or speaking with the utmost confidence, he expressed even a contempt of Digby's accusation. The intelligence of his imprisonment was received at Kilkenny with indignation and rage. The more violent clamoured for arms, and were for instantly demanding him at the walls of Dublin. The supreme council laboured to allay this flame; but were obliged to summon a new general assembly. The assembly, after a few days recollection, seemed convinced that all the severity expressed against Glamorgan was dissembled, and that the government could not really entertain a doubt of his innocence. For they applied to the lord lieutenant, not that the charge against this earl should be examined, but that he should be immediately released; as three thousand men were ready to embark for the relief of Chester, and nothing wanting but transports, for which Glamorgan had contracted; but neither the expedition, nor the treaty of peace, could proceed until he should be set at liberty. The lord lieutenant and council, as if persuaded that enough had been already done to vindicate the king's honour; and that his present service might be injured by continuing their affected resentment against Glamorgan, began now to speak more tenderly of his offence. They imputed it to an injudicious zeal for

It is not impossible, but it might have contained some arrangements respecting the intended expedition into England; and possibly a nomination of officers. This, if prematurely discovered, must have offended many of their party, who had found themselves neglected, or not promoted according to their notions of their own desert. And hence might have arisen the apprehensions of the confederates, that the discovery of this paper would produce dangerous distraction in their proceedings.

the interest of the crown; they accepted sureties for his appearance; they dismissed him to Kilkenny; and, with a confidence not to be reposed in any man really suspected of high treason, they commissioned him to treat with the confederates, for the transportation of forces to Chester, for the remittance of three thousand pounds to Dublin to supply the king's army, and for hastening their agents to conclude the treaty so long depending with the marquis of Ormond.

He was successful only in the last particular. Ormond was attended by two principal agents, Darcy and Browne. He had already offered the civil articles of peace in the very terms proposed by the confederates; and, on the first imprisonment of Glamorgan, transmitted them to Kilkenny, to prevent any dangerous impression from this incident. Nothing more seemed necessary than to prepare the instruments to be laid before the general assembly for a formal approbation. But new occasions of opposition, and new difficulties arose in this assembly. Lord Digby had protested with vehemence against the religious articles granted by the earl of Glamorgan. The king disavowed them in his declaration ^{Rush-} to the English parliament. He professed, that as ^{worth.} the earl had offered to raise forces in Ireland for his service, he had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only; none to treat of any other matter without the privity and directions of the lord lieutenant, "much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion." In a letter to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, he declared, that as the ^{Carte,} peace could not be obtained but by some indulgence ^{vol. III.} to the catholics, in point of freeing them from the ^{No.} penalties imposed on the exercise of their religion, ^{ccccxv.} and as such indulgence in a public transaction might happily give scandal, he had therefore privately instructed his lieutenant to assure the catholics, in a less public way, of exemption from these penalties, and such other graces as might be afforded, without blemish to his honor and conscience, or prejudices

to his protestant subjects; that he had informed the earl of Glamorgan of these secret instructions; that knowing his interest with the catholic party, he thought he might be of use in persuading them to moderation, and to rest satisfied with these concessions; that he had strictly confined him to these, and to act nothing but by directions of the lieutenant. To this end, and with such limitations, "it is possible," said Charles, "we might have thought fit to give the earl of Glamorgan such a credential, as might give him credit with the Roman catholics, in case you, the lieutenant, should find occasion to make use of him, as a farther assurance to them of what you should privately promise; or, in case you should judge it necessary for their greater confidence, to manage those matters apart by him." This he declares to be all, and the very bottom of what he might have possibly intrusted to the earl in this affair; expresses his regret that he had not employed a wiser man; repeats his assurance, that as he had not much regard to the abilities of Glamorgan, he had bound him to take directions from the lieutenant both in the matter and manner of his negotiation; and commands that lord Digby's charge be thoroughly and diligently prosecuted.

Carte,
vol. II.
Append.
No. xxiii.

Inquiry.
Harleian.
MSS.

As the very time of writing this public letter, Charles, by another to the marquis of Ormond, privately directed, that the execution of any sentence against Glamorgan should be suspended; as the misfortune he had brought on all, proceeded from misguided zeal, rather than malice. And, however he affected to lament that want of judgment to which he imputed the obnoxious proceedings of the earl, and however he condemned his precipitate neglect of instructions, in acting without the advice and concurrence of the marquis, yet he contrived to convey secretly to Glamorgan repeated assurances of his confidence and friendship. But the confederates were not informed of these private letters: probably they knew of nothing more than that peremptory disavowal

disavowal of the earl's treaty, which Charles had found necessary to make to his parliament: an incident at which the more violent affected the utmost consternation, and which discouraged and embarrassed those, who opposed the extravagances of the clergy and their favorite nuncio.

This prelate had for some time laboured indefatigably to oppose any accommodation, but on terms of enormous advantage to the interests of the church. The popish clergy were all at his entire devotion, except some bishops whom age had rendered moderate, and some regulars, who, by their mission, were independent of his authority. With such assistants, he was confident and presumptuous, indifferent to the interests of the king, zealous for those of his own order, and engaged entirely on the fantastical design of establishing the catholic worship in all its dignity and magnificence. To counteract the schemes of those confederates who wished to make peace on such terms as might secure the toleration, without the establishment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty said to be framed by the pope, and transmitted by his nephew cardinal Pamfilio. It consisted of extravagant provisions for the church. Rinuccini was empowered to make such additions as he should think proper: his additional articles were still more extravagant: and the whole collection of absurdity and presumption was presented as a treaty already formed and determined at Rome, though not approved by the queen, nor signed by his agent, Sir Kenelm Digby. He collected his clergy, and easily prevailed on them to sign a protestation in favor of this treaty. He recommended it to the general assembly, as the only plan on which their rights and interests could be effectually secured: he exhorted them to wait the arrival of the original articles; in the mean time, to prolong the cessation, and to send their forces for the relief of Chester. He wrought with equal assiduity to gain Glamorgan to his project. This earl, who, from his conversation

Carta.
vol. I.
p. 563.

Birch's
Inquiry.
p. 159.

tion with the ministers in Dublin, had adopted what were called among his associates the sentiments of moderation, declared loudly for a speedy conclusion of the civil articles with Ormond; and for considering his own separate treaty as a sufficient security for the ecclesiastical interests. His instability, and impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal master, now disposed him to comply with the nuncio. He wrote to the marquis, that "the effects of his secret endeavours absolutely vanished, when a more advantageous peace was offered by the munificent and powerful hand of her majesty;" assured him, "that it was of the utmost importance to the king and kingdom, that no cause of offence should be given to the pope's nuncio;" insinuating the necessity of treating with him in his own manner, and on his own terms. "But since the high post," said he, "which you hold, and the difference of religion, will not permit your excellency to engage openly in this affair, I believe it would not be at all improper for you to delegate that office to others, with whom, if your excellency shall join me, who, though unequal in other respects, am inferior to none in friendship and regard for you; I doubt not that we shall in a few days, and even a few hours, obtain of the nuncio whatever shall be thought reasonable and honorable for his Majesty; myself alone having, by the interest and good will of the nuncio, gained this point, that three thousand soldiers are designed to be sent to the relief of Chester; and, to-morrow or next day, he is to have the chief management of that proposal in the general assembly."

THE style of this letter seems to imply a consciousness in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The answer of the marquis of Ormond seems also inconsistent with a real persuasion that the earl was not duly authorised to treat with the confederates. He cautiously declines
engaging

engaging in any negotiation foreign to the powers he had received; expresses his total ignorance of any grounds for the expectation of advantageous conditions by means of her majesty. "My affections and interest," saith he, "are so tied to his majesty's cause, that it were madness in me to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to relieve him in the sad condition he is in; and, therefore, your lordship may securely go on in the way you have proposed to yourself to serve the king, without fear of interruption from me, or so much as inquiring into the means you work by."

WHILE the nuncio exerted himself with such vigour in favour of a treaty, which probably had no existence but in his own heated imagination; while he ventured to assure the general assembly, that the original of this treaty was daily expected from Rome by the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby; the more sensible and moderate of this assembly contended for the speedy conclusion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. They urged the condescension of the king in granting all their temporal conditions: that in spirituals, nothing was wanting but the pomp and ostentation of public worship, and an established hierarchy. The circumstances of the king, they observed, could not admit any farther concessions, they should rely on his inclinations manifested by the earl of Glamorgan and otherwise. The pope himself had declared, that a connivance was all that could at present be reasonably demanded for their religion. One ecclesiastic attested the reality of this declaration; another, with a virulence intolerable to the nuncio, maintained that his tale of a Roman treaty was a slander on the queen, an imposition on the Irish, purposely devised to ruin the king, and to prevent the peace. Others again, with greater indulgence to this intractable prelate observed, that a conclusion of the civil articles could be of no prejudice to any ecclesiastical peace framed by the pope; since it was provided, that all things should stand good which

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Carta.
vol. I.
p. 564.

which the king might grant in point of religion, by the intervention of any person whatever.

In the midst of these delays and altercations, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to another, attempted to moderate the violences of each, professed the warmest attachment to the nuncio; signed an instrument, whereby he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, provided, that if the original articles should arrive by the first day of May, his instrument should be void; and, in the mean time, kept secret, unless the political peace with Ormond should be published before that day. The nuncio yielded to these condescensions of Glamorgan. They signed a convention with some deputies of the general assembly, whereby it was stipulated, that the cessation should continue to the first of May; that if the original of the pope's treaty were not then produced, the nuncio should ratify what he and Glamorgan should agree upon; that the political treaty with the lord lieutenant should proceed, provided that nothing should be concluded or published, no alteration of civil government attempted, nor any thing in prejudice to the present transaction. From the readiness of Glamorgan's concessions, Rinuccini still suspected his sincerity. He still dreaded, that the earl might unite with Ormond in opposition to a treaty received from the pope. To remove such impressions, the earl, by a voluntary oath, engaged to support the nuncio and his measures against the partizans of Ormond, and all others; he declared his resolution of going to France, to procure transports for such forces as should be provided for the king; he amused the vain prelate with promises of vast military stores, together with a considerable navy, to be entirely at his devotion and command. The suspicions of the nuncio were thus quieted: he exhorted the general assembly to proceed in their preparations for peace and war; and Glamorgan hastened to Waterford, to attend the embark-

embarkation of the troops destined to the relief of Chester, when this city had already surrendered to the parliament.

THE earl was still possessed with apprehensions of the instability of the nuncio, and the opposition he might still make to the design of sending effectual succours to the king. From Waterford he repeated his zealous assurances of attachment, and his magnificent promises to this prelate. He offered to make use of his powers of conferring titles; and to create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, at the nomination of the nuncio, so as to enable him to gratify his Irish friends, and strengthen his party. At the same time, in a strain of perfect confidence, he assured the unhappy Charles, that ten thousand men should speedily be transported for his service; and that, his majesty remaining still constant in a favorable opinion and right interpretation of his poor endeavours, he doubted not of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince. The publication of the king's message to parliament, in which Glamorgan's private treaty was disavowed, seemed scarcely to damp the confidence of this lord; however, it surprised and confounded the confederates. He represented it as "a forced renunciation:" he declared, that the king had expressly instructed him, that "if by any unfortunate accident he should be involved in counsels apparently contrary to the powers granted to his lordship, that he should consider them only as an additional motive to hasten to the succour and rescue of his sovereign:" he spoke with ease and assurance of the military stores, subsidies, and transports he was to procure by his negotiations on the continent, and required only that he might find an army ready on his return.

WHILE the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulging his imagination with splendid projects never to be executed, the supreme council of the confederates was engaged in the final settlement of their treaty

Rushworth's Inquiry, p. 184.

Ibid. p. 183.

Carte, vol. I. p. 568.

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treaty with the marquis of Ormond. The articles to which he had assented appeared so satisfactory to the general assembly, that even their prelates concurred in accepting and approving them. It had indeed been formerly stipulated with the nuncio, that no peace should be concluded until the first day of May, but the new general assembly, convened on the sixth of March, did not consider themselves as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commissioned to conclude the treaty; and, in defiance of the protestation thundered by the nuncio against their further proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of the same month. It was attended with a conditional obligation, whereby the king was disengaged from all his concessions, unless those succours were obtained, which were the great purpose and final object of his negotiations with the Irish. The confederates engaged to transport six thousand foot well armed and provided, by the first day of April, and four thousand more by the first of the ensuing month. In the mean time, the treaty was to be deposited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis,) as an instrument of no force until these troops should be sent away. It was agreed, that the peace should be published with all due solemnity on the first of May. But if the troops were not sent at the times appointed, (unless prevented by some unavoidable impediment, or reasonable cause, to be allowed by the marquis of Ormond,) the articles were to be considered as of no effect, and the counterparts, to be mutually restored to the respective parties*.

THUS

* The articles of this treaty are too numerous to be detailed. But their general tenour may be sufficiently collected from the grievances pleaded, and the propositions offered at different times by the Irish. Nothing was stipulated with respect to religion, but that catholics should be exempted from taking the oath of supremacy, on swearing allegiance according to a new form. With respect to the question of the independency of the parliament of Ireland on that of England, a new concession was made to the confederates. Instead of referring it to both legislatures,

Thus far was a treaty brought to a final conclusion, which the pride, the improvidence, and the bigotry of the Irish had protracted, until the king had no appearance of an army left in England, and utterly despaired of any farther opposition to his enemies. The Irish succours, which he laboured to procure, by a series of disgraceful concessions, could now scarcely be employed to any effectual purpose in England. Charles was reduced to the melancholy device of applying them to the reduction of Ireland to his obedience, which might, at least, afford him a secure retreat, if his other kingdoms could not be recovered. Ormond was not yet authentically informed of the king's extreme distress. He gave the necessary orders for the first embarkation of six thousand men. But the Irish confederates were no strangers to the general state of affairs in England. They considered the great difficulties and dangers of an English expedition, without any certain landing-place to receive, or any cavalry to support their men. Glamorgan, who, in conjunction with the marquis of Antrim, had engaged for transports, could not provide them at the time appointed. The

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latures, as was formerly proposed, it was now "accorded and agreed, that his majesty will leave both houses of parliament in this kingdom (Ireland) to make such declaration, therein as shall be agreeable to the law of the kingdom of Ireland." Vide Cox. Appendix, No. xxiv. p. 97.

BUT of all the articles of this treaty, that which strikes a reader of England with surprize and contempt, is one, which provides that the old acts of the Irish parliament prohibiting plowing by horse tails, and burning oats in the straw, shall be repealed. This is sometimes ascribed to a ridiculous predilection and adherence to the old barbarous customs of the country. But this matter has been already explained in the reign of James. The objection to these acts was, that the penalties which they inflicted did not answer the purpose of the legislature, did not tend to reformation, but rather to encourage and perpetuate barbarism, which brought in a regular revenue to the crown.

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Orig.
Lett. of
the M. of
Ormond.

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ut sup.

confederates, therefore, chose to employ their forces against Inchiquin and the parliamentarians of Munster. They represented the necessity of this service to the marquis of Ormond. The clearing of one kingdom, they observed, promised more advantage to the king than a desperate attempt to assist him in England. Their great agent, lord Muskerry, expressed a doubt whether the English parliament might not already have extorted some concessions from the king repugnant to those powers of treating with their party, which he had granted to his lord lieutenant. From the distresses of the king, the strength and inveteracy of his enemies, and the weakness of Irish government, he recommended to the marquis, to consult his own security, by accepting the command of the Irish forces; and immediately, on publication of the peace, to lead them against the common enemy in Ireland. The same overtures were made to him by Glamorgan: and this sanguine lord, as if the junction had been already formed, required the united assurance of Ormond and the confederates, that ten thousand troops should be ready on his return from the continent, while he engaged on his part, for vast supplies of shipping, arms, ammunition, and artillery. The marquis answered generally, and cautiously, without a formal acceptance, or an absolute rejection of this overture. "As I may at no hand," said he to lord Muskerry, "decline your undertaking to serve his majesty in England, so neither shall I refuse your offer towards it in this kingdom; but as occasion shall be offered and I enabled, will cheerfully endeavour to preserve his interest here, and the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all those that shall therein join with me." To Glamorgan he promised, by himself, and without any concert with the Irish, to use his utmost endeavours for raising the ten thousand

sand troops, and that the whole remainder of his fortune should stand engaged for this purpose*.

THE

* His letter to Glamorgan on this occasion affords an additional proof to those already published, that the commitment of this earl was really nothing more than what the king's enemies called it, A COLOURABLE COMMITMENT: that Ormond, far from conceiving his commission to be forged or surreptitiously obtained, still continued to regard him as really entrusted by the king, and empowered to negotiate in his name; as a person with whom it was his duty to co-operate, so far as was consistent with his principles, his honor, and safety; and whom he was, at least, bound not to oppose in his endeavours for the service of his majesty. The letter is here, therefore, inserted at large, from the original, in possession of the author.

" MY LORD,

" I RECEIVE your gratulation and advices for my future security, as
 " evident testimonies of your continued favour to mee, and am much
 " joyed to finde that the accidents fallen out concerning your lordship
 " have not left any impression on you to the prejudice of the real affec-
 " tion you give mee leave to beare you.

" MY lord, I had, according to my promise, given you a larger ac-
 " count of things here, but that at the concluding of the articles was
 " found ourselves soe streightened in time, that many material partes
 " of the agreement were faine to be put in another way than was first
 " thought of, and at this instant I am soe pressed with important dispatches
 " from Kilkenny, that I shall be able but shortly and confusedly to
 " give you a return to the maine parte of your lordship's of the third of
 " this month, which came to my hands yesterday about noone.

" TOUCHING the noble and large offer you are pleased to make of
 " shipping, armes, ammunition, and a traine of artillery for the king's
 " service, in case you may receive assurance from those in power among
 " the confederates and from mee, that ten thousand men shall be ready
 " against your return to be transported to serve the king in England,
 " I return your lordship this answer, That I shall and by this letter doe
 " cheerefully obleege my selfe for as much as shall be in my power,
 " ether in my publiok or private capacity, to have that number of men
 " in readiness you expect; and to compose it, am contented all the
 " remainder of my fortune should stand engaged. If your lordship can
 " procure as much as this from the other party, I conceive you will pro-
 " ceede

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THE depredations of Sir Charles Cooté and his parliamentary forces in Connaught became so violent and alarming, that the confederates grew more urgent

"ceede in your intended voyage with satisfaction, and returne I hope
"with successe, which is earnestly wished by

"Your lordship's

"*Dub. Cast. the 6th*
"of April, 1646.

"most faithfull

"and affectionate kinsman

"and humble servant

ORMOND."

"To the right honorable My
"very good Lord the Earle of Glamorgan
"at Waterford."

Thus we find that Glamorgan perfectly understood the nature and reason of his commitment; that he was not offended at the marquis; and that the marquis insinuates plainly enough, that he ought not to be offended. The earl, indeed, expressed some resentment against lord Digby. But lord Digby was his rival. He was at this time negotiating with the supreme council; and prevailed on them to furnish him with three hundred men to serve as a guard for the prince of Wales, now retired to the isle of Scilly, and whom Digby projected to convey into Ireland; a scheme which Ormond highly approved, and which was very acceptable to those of the confederates, who wished to restrain the turbulence and ambition of the nuncio. Digby grew a favorite with the confederates, Glamorgan was jealous of his entirely supplanting him, and gaining the command of their forces; so as to deprive him of the favorite object of his vanity, the honor of leading an army to the rescue of his royal master. [See Carta, Vol. III. No. cccxxxvii.] Digby, however, thought it necessary, and contrived to allay his jealousies. "Here at Waterford," saith he to Ormond [No. ccccxli.] "I have met with my
"lord Glamorgan, whom I find (and he hath reason) a very sad man,
"and withall highly incensed by some about him against me. But for
"this latter part, I believe his good nature, and THE REASONS WHICH
"I HAVE GIVEN HIM, have well settled him in a good measure of
"kindness; which my lord of Muskerry, and the rest, did think very
"necessary to the carrying on of business unanimously."

At the same time that Ormond engaged with so much zeal to second the efforts of Glamorgan, at the hazard of his whole fortune, it is certain that both he and Digby thought but meanly of the earl and

urgent with the marquis to declare against them. Claverhouse had been injured by their outrages, and insisted, that the chief governor should proclaim ^{Carte,} them traitors. The confederates represented the ^{vol. I.} necessity of a present union of all the royalists. ^{P. 569.} They required that Ormond should admit, that the obstructions to the embarkation of their forces were sufficient to justify them from any violation of articles; they told him, that any immediate publication of his treaty, must necessarily be attended with a like publication of Glamorgan's secret articles, to prevent any rupture among themselves, or any disgust to their foreign friends. If this should not be acceptable to the lieutenant, they required that he should immediately unite his forces with theirs, and proceed with vigour against the common enemy.

Ormond had just now received intelligence that ^{Ibid.} the king had resigned himself to the Scottish army, ^{P. 570.} an incident of such consequence as might require some change in his counsels and measures. He deliberated, and at length determined to return a spirited answer to the confederates. The necessity of union, he observed, was too apparent, but refused to unite with those who derived not their authority from the king. He was however, ready to accept the assistance of any of the king's subjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit. He could not admit that they had been guilty of no failure in their stipulations; for, however it might have been impracticable to send their forces into England,

and the vanity and extravagance of his promises. But notwithstanding all his foibles, and notwithstanding their affected severity against his treaty, it is evident they regarded him as duly authorized by the king; and treated and addressed him as a person still enjoying the royal favor and confidence. And that he did still enjoy them in a very high degree, there is direct and positive proof in those letters extant among the Harleian Manuscripts in which Charles assures him of the continuance of his friendship, and promises to MAKE GOOD ALL HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND PROMISES TO HIM AND THE NUNCIO,

England, yet the sums which they had engaged to supply for the service of government, were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been disavowed by the king; he, therefore, could not admit the publication of them. He required, that they should consent explicitly to suppress them; and that the treaty of Dublin should be instantly published. If these overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the condition of his majesty's affairs in Dublin must soon force him to seek some other way of recovering and supporting his authority in Ireland.

THE confederates were alarmed; they apprehended that Ormond might join with the parliamentarians; they suspected that overtures had been already made, and favourable conditions already offered to him. They grew humble and complying; they apologized for their failures, and promised to fulfil all their engagements; they consented to omit the publication of Glamorgan's treaty; the articles concluded with Ormond were immediately to be published by mutual consent; when a letter from the king forbid all farther proceedings, and inhibited the lieutenant from engaging him with the Irish on any conditions. Ormond might have been persuaded that this order was extorted; but it was not easy to persuade others. On each side all was suspense and confusion. The lieutenant and council, in their answer to the king, enumerated the distresses of Irish government; pleaded the absolute necessity of at least renewing the cessation, thought the royal orders seemed to forbid it; and urged the impossibility of commencing war without large supplies of money and military stores. The confederates declared that they could not proceed any farther in their negotiation, in the present uncertainty of the king's circumstances and condition. In this juncture lord Digby arrived opportunely from the continent. He declared that the king was held in captivity by the Scots, and could not send any instructions to his servants,

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vants, but such as they extorted from him. That of this his severe restraint, he had found means to send private notice to Paris, directing that the queen, the prince, and all his ministers, should pursue the orders he had given, while free; that in all points, he had not then determined, the prince should give such orders as he judged most advantageous to the crown; that, particularly, in the affairs of Ireland, the lord lieutenant should proceed agreeably to his former instructions, without regard to any orders surreptitiously or forcibly obtained; that the queen and prince of Wales should assure him of his majesty's firm adherence to the measures he had formerly directed; and that, as the great seal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies, no attention was to be paid to it in Ireland, unless the king should signify under his own hand, in cypher, that it had been used agreeably to his free choice and inclination.

A LETTER from the prince of Wales assured the marquis of his concurrence and support in the prosecution of the Irish treaty. Lord Digby attended the privy council at Dublin. He declared, that the king's letter forbidding all farther negotiations with the confederates was surreptitiously or forcibly obtained, contrary to what he knew to be his majesty's free resolution. He offered to answer with his life for this present declaration of the king's will and pleasure. It was signed with his name, and entered in the council books. Ormond, in the same manner, registered his protestation, that he was satisfied of his authority to conclude a peace upon the articles deposited with the marquis of Clanricarde. No reluctance now appeared on the part of the confederates. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the instruments were delivered by both parties respectively. The council issued a proclamation, ratifying the articles of peace; and all persons were enjoined to receive it with due observance and submission.

FROM

FROM such an event, it seems natural to expect some public settlement and composure, an aspect of affairs more serene and pleasing, than had for some years appeared in Ireland. But the peace of forty-six, as it was called, had been the work of a distressed government, so utterly disclaimed by the prevailing power in England, that lord Lisle was already appointed chief governor of Ireland by the parliament. The great body of covenanters in Ulster despised the whole negotiation; the parliamentarians of Munster opposed any peace with the Irish. These reformers, in the fulness of their zeal, could be contented only with the extirpation of popery and the rebellious Irish race. A numerous and powerful party of the catholics with the same absurd violence, aimed at the utter extirpation of Englishmen and their religion. Through the whole progress of the treaty, Rinuccini was indefatigable in his opposition to any peace, but one framed by the pope; to any civil treaty separate from the ecclesiastical; to any ecclesiastical which should not fully gratify his extravagant expectations of an immediate, a complete, and splendid establishment of the Romish worship.

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p. 574.

So miserable a politician was this bustling prelate, that whatever attention to the king's interests he publicly expressed, yet, in a letter to cardinal Pamfilio he declared his opinion, that the destruction of the king would prove of most advantage to the Irish, and the final triumph of the parliamentarians in England, most effectual to the establishment of popery in Ireland. Possessed with this strange idea, he secretly rejoiced in every misfortune of the royal party, and strenuously contended against every measure which might support the king's tottering cause. He harangued, he remonstrated, he protested, against the treaty with Ormond; he preached the necessity of union among the confederates, without any attention to the king's ministers, or any thought of peace. He exhorted them to look abroad for support; to seek the protection of some foreign power; and pointed

pointed out the pope as their natural and assured protector. But as a great and powerful party of the confederates were still earnest for a final accommodation, and were supported by general Preston and his troops, the nuncio was sensible, that neither his own industry, nor the practices and clamours of his clergy would prevent the peace, without some power to support them against an army ready to execute the orders of the supreme council.

OWEN O'NIAT, and his Ulster forces, seemed a fit instrument of the nuncio's purposes. Both the leader and his followers were disgusted at the supreme council. No provision had been made in the articles of the civil treaty for those who pretended to be aggrieved by the plantation of Ulster, and both Owen and all his officers had their grievances to plead. Their forces were chiefly composed of what were called in Ireland, CREAGHTS, a race of barbarous rovers, without any settled residence, wandering with their cattle in search of subsistence, to the great annoyance of the districts which they visited. Their depredations in Leinster had proved so oppressive that the council of Kilkenny issued orders for opposing them by arms, and thus provoked their resentment. The nuncio addressed himself to their commander; he assured him, that the supplies he had brought or expected, should be all applied to the support of his army; he gave him some money as an earnest of his future bounty; he easily prevailed on a bold adventurer to declare against the peace; and the Ulster Irish, who derived no advantage but from public commotion, were with equal ease induced to call themselves the nuncio's soldiers. They were collected with such diligence, that about the end of May, Owen had assembled near five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and at the head of this body advanced towards Armagh.

THE Scottish general Monroe, was alarmed at this motion, and naturally apprehended some at-
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Ca. 7.
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 p. 674.

tempts against the British garrisons of Ulster. He drew out six thousand foot and eight hundred horse; and, by a forced march arrived, by midnight at Armagh, in order to surprize O'Nial in his quarters. Here he learned, that the Irish army lay seven miles further, at a place called Benburb, strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be passed. On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other side of the river, in full view of O'Nial, to meet a considerable reinforcement which he expected; when finding a ford unexpectedly, he crossed the river, and advanced on the Irish. Each army was drawn up in order of battle; but instead of coming to a general engagement, the Irish general contrived to waste the day and amuse the enemy with skirmishes. The sun, which had been favorable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment which he had sent to oppose the troops expected by Monroe, had been foiled in the attempt, and now hastened to join the main body. Monroe was alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable troop, which, as they advanced, he had mistaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiously attacked by the Irish, in full confidence of victory. An English regiment, commanded by lord Blaney, maintained their ground, till he and most of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry was soon broken, cast the foot into disorder, and produced a general route. More than three thousand of the British forces were slain on the field of battle, with the loss only of seventy killed on the part of the Irish. The Scots artillery, most of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and provisions, were taken. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoned several posts of strength, summoned the whole northern province to take arms against the victorious Irish, was vigorously pursued, and Ulster on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was suddenly called by the
nuncio

nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace, and instantly marched at the head of ten thousand barbarous ravagers, for to this number had his army swelled by the victory of Benburb.

THE prospect of a support so powerful, inspired Carte, all the adherents of the nuncio with the utmost confidence; and the effects appeared in the reception given to the proclamation of peace in several parts of Ireland. It had been immediately proclaimed at Dublin, and in the camp of general Preston, and officers were sent to proclaim it in several cities of the Irish quarters. At Waterford and Clonmel they were, on frivolous pretences, prevented from doing their office. At Limerick the chief magistrate attended the proclamation, but was suddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd led on by some clergy, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, some of them mortally, imprisoned them for ten days; and received the thanks and benediction of the nuncio for this outrage. By his own authority, he displaced those magistrates who had attempted to support the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city on a man who had been leader and conductor of the tumult. He convened his clergy at Waterford; they pronounced all who adhered to the peace guilty of violating their oath of association; they excommunicated the commissioners, and all who had been instrumental in the treaty; they pronounced an interdict on all places where the peace had been admitted; suspended all the clergy who preached in favor of it, and all confessors who absolved any adherents of the peace. Excommunication was denounced against those who paid or levied any money assessed by the council of Kilkenny, and all soldiers who should support the execution of their orders. For the better union of their party, a new oath of association was framed, whereby they engaged not to adhere to any peace, but such as should

should be honorable, secure to their consciences, and so approved by the congregation of Irish clergy *.

THE

* THESE violent measures, it seems, were contrary to the instructions which the nuncio had received from Rome, and made it necessary for him to send an apology to the pope. Mr. Carte hath given us from the nuncio's Memoirs another instance in which he was accused of deviating from the intentions of the holy see, too curious to be passed unnoticed. In a speech to the council of Kilkenny, he had recommended fidelity first to God and religion, and next to the king. A copy of this speech he sent to Rome; and, in return, was severely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio; "for that THE HOLY SEE NEVER WOULD BY ANY POSITIVE ACT APPROVE THE CIVIL ALLEGIANCE WHICH CATHOLIC SUBJECTS PAY TO AN HERETICAL PRINCE: and the displeasure of the court of Rome was greater as he had deposited a copy of his speech with the council; which, if published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes; when the pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king." The nuncio was directed to recal the copies of this speech. He got the original from the secretary of the council, and returned him another, in which the offensive paragraph was altered.

YET, in the fury of his zeal against the peace, he was betrayed into the same offence. He was the first to sign a protestation of the clergy, in which they declared warmly for religion, and for the king. Pamfilio again reproved him: he reminded him, "that it had been the uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome NEVER TO ALLOW HER MINISTERS TO MAKE OR CONSENT TO PUBLIC EDICTS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE CROWN AND PERSON OF AN HERETICAL PRINCE." He condemned his procedure, as furnishing a pretence to the adversaries of the see to reflect upon her, as deviating from her established maxims and rules of conduct. "But as the pope," said he, "knows very well how difficult it is in such assemblies to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by catholics to the king; he will, therefore, be satisfied if his minister doth not shew by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which, for political considerations, the catholics were either forced or willing to make.—Rinunceini, in his apology, declared, "that all the Irish bishops had, without scruple, taken the oath which contained this exceptionable clause of allegiance to the king; and that it was thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even
" the

THE censures thundered out by the nuncio and clergy had their full effect upon, an ignorant and bigotted people, and every where produced the most violent exclamations against a peace in which the interests of religion were not amply and explicitly secured. The supreme council prepared an appeal against these censures; but it was neither exhibited in form, nor published. Instead of rigorously enforcing their authority, they endeavoured to soothe the clergy; they received their extravagant propositions without disdain or reprehension, and thus confirmed them in the opinion of their own power. Owen O'Nial, they knew, was devoted to the nuncio, and provoked at the neglect of his merits, which they had betrayed in their nomination of generals, to be commissioned by the lord lieutenant on the peace. Preston, from whom alone they could expect any opposition to O'Nial, had already discovered some ambiguity of conduct; and part of his army had been disbanded for want of pay, part had deserted to the clergy. In these circumstances, the council looked to the marquis of Ormond for support. They earnestly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to assist them to maintain the peace against the violence of the nuncio, and to concert measures for checking the progress of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the southern province, regardless of the orders of government, and in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

HOWEVER desperate and deplorable the present situation of the king appeared, however impracticable the transportation of Irish forces, and however ineffectual, yet a peace was absolutely necessary to support even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governor without forces, without money
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"the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently be suspected of having other views, besides those of a mere nunciature; which, without any such handle, had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

or provisions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and by the catholics of these, and the remaining province, could subsist scarcely for a day. The kingdom must unavoidably be reduced by the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of some foreign power. His commission for concluding a peace with the confederates was determined by the peace already concluded: if this should not take place, there was no possibility of renewing a treaty for another. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, attended by the marquis of Clanricade and lord Digby, he repaired to Kilkenny, and was received with such respect and such abundant joy, as seemed to indicate a general disposition in the people to be again admitted into the king's protection. But this gay prospect was soon clouded by disappointment and suspicion. Preston, on pretence of indisposition, refused to attend the lord lieutenant. An emissary, he had dispatched to practise with Owen O'Nial, could not by the most magnificent offers detach him from the nuncio. The earl of Castlehaven was sent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to dissuade them from their violent measures, and reconcile them to the peace. But he found them obstinate and inexorable; and was justly scandalized at the virulence of Rinuccini, who had declared his firm purpose of opposing the peace to the utmost, and uttered "other expressions," saith the earl, "relative to blood, not becoming a churchman." To compose the tempers of the people, Ormond attempted some excursions into Munster; he prepared to march to Cashel; when one of his own kinsmen appeared in arms to oppose him; and the magistrate of this town assured him, that the utmost vengeance was denounced against the inhabitants, should they presume to give him admittance, and that O'Nial was on his march to execute these threats. From the privy council at Dublin he received

Carle,
vol. 1.
p. 580

Castlehaven's
Memoirs.

ceived alarming intelligence of the motions and designs of this general. So confident were they that O'Nial intended either to intercept the lieutenant, or in his absence to lay siege to the capital, that preparations were made for the defence of Dublin.

With whatever reluctance Ormond received these rumours, and whatever was his anxiety for effectuating the peace, he soon received the clearest and most authentic information of his present danger. Immediately on his departure for Kilkenny, Carte, the nuncio, who had attached O'Nial to his party vol. I. by large sums of money, urged him either to under- P. 582. take the siege of Dublin, or to intercept the lieutenant on his return. He chose this latter enterprize as the least hazardous. Preston, at length, yielded to the instances of Rinuccini, and was engaged in the same design. Ormond was assured, that both these generals were actually on their march to cut off his retreat. There was now no time for expostulation or reproach. By forced marches, with some difficulty, and several alarms, he regained the capital, where he was received with the joy natural to people who had for some days been persuaded that he and his whole party were cut off.

THE triumph of the nuncio now seemed complete. The way was open for his return to Kilkenny. Owen O'Nial lay with his whole army in the neighbourhood of this city, ready to execute his orders. Preston professed to be devoted to his service. Soldiers and officers, gentry and commonalty, crowded to this vain prelate, breathing vengeance against the ORMONDISTS, (so the favorers of peace were called) and clamouring for religion, for the clergy, and the papal minister. In a moment all that power, which the confederate catholics had so long supported, the authority of their assemblies, the dignity of their councils, were utterly dissolved and lost. A few ecclesiastics seemed absolute lords of the kingdom. The nuncio made his public entry into Kilkenny with all the
pomp

pomp of royalty and victory; and all affairs civil and ecclesiastical were resigned to his direction. Intoxicated with power and flattery, he ordered the members of the supreme council, and other promoters of the peace to be imprisoned; and general Preston executed his order. By a solemn decree issued in his own name, and by his own authority, he appointed a new council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen. In this assembly he himself acted as president; modelled his armies, appointed his officers, and in the fulness of authority, determined and commanded at his pleasure.

Birch,
Inquiry.
p. 244.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. I.
p. 581.

Of all the infatuated people who resigned their understandings and their interests to this prelate, the earl of Glamorgan was most obsequious. He had lately received a private letter from the king, in which Charles expressed his affection and attachment to the earl, and solemnly assured him, that it was his purpose, if possible, to effect an escape, and cast himself into the arms of him and the nuncio. This letter was communicated to Rinuncini; and he, and his favorite amused themselves with idle projects for conveying the king into Ireland. To a nobleman of such consequence with his sovereign, and at the same time, so devoted to the holy see, the nuncio deigned to shew extraordinary marks of favor. He created him general of Munster, in the room of lord Muskerry, who was disgraced and imprisoned: and, though the levity, the vanity, and instability of this earl were now generally understood, yet were they all redeemed by his abject submission to the pope and his minister. Rinuncini promised to appoint him lord lieutenant, when Ormond should be driven from Dublin. He recommended him to Pamfilio as the person fittest for this office. Glamorgan was transported by such favors: by a new engagement, he vowed eternal obedience to the nuncio; swore, that in all his conduct he would be guided by his direction, and submit to his decision; that he would, at any time, resign the lieutenancy at his command; and,

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in all things, pay obedience to the holy see. And so confident was the ambitious prelate of immediately becoming master of Dublin, and establishing his creature in the government, that he wrote to Rome for directions about adjusting the ceremonial between the papal minister and the new chief governor.

ORMOND, in the mean time, expected and prepared against a siege. The inhabitants, who had neglected the fortifications of Dublin, were roused by the apprehensions of immediate danger, and proceeded vigorously to repair them. The old Irish of the North, (and these were the besiegers now expected) had rendered themselves generally odious by their barbarities, and were the objects of particular horror to the English inhabitants of Dublin. To animate their zeal against these murderers of their countrymen, the marchioness of Ormond, and other women of quality appeared at their head, carrying baskets of earth to the fortifications. But, amidst all these preparations against a siege, the lieutenant was pierced with a deep sense of his present desperate situation. He was utterly unprovided for the sustenance of an army; he could not support the out-garrisons, nor draw them into Dublin to increase the general distress. The moment that the enemy should take possession of the adjacent country, the excise, and all his wretched temporary resources must utterly fail. He had mortgaged his estate for twenty-three thousand pounds, expended in the public service. Two thousand more, received from his tenants at Kilkenny, were quickly exhausted in purchasing the subsistence of a few days. He could not maintain a siege; he could not treat with the Irish, he could not rely on their adhering to any treaty. The whole power of the confederate catholics had now devolved on the OLD IRISH, the most desperate and barbarous, the most averse to all of English race, who, in their pride had threatened them with extirpation, had breathed disdain and defiance of English government, and were now labouring to

reduce the nation under a foreign power. To such men he could not submit. The parliamentarians he detested. Yet to this detested party he was reduced to apply: and, in order to preserve the appearance of an English government in Ireland, at length, reluctantly addressed him for relief to the parliament at London.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. I.
p. 586.

HE required an immediate reinforcement of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, three months pay for his army thus augmented, security for the persons and estates of his adherents, of those who had for some time after the rebellion been forced to continue in the Irish quarters, of all unoffending catholics, and of such rebels as by the lieutenant and council, with consent of the English parliament, should be admitted as adherents to the king's protestant subjects. On these conditions he engaged to carry on the war, as he should be enabled and directed by parliament. It was, however intimated by his agents, that rather than that the supplies should be obstructed, the lieutenant and council would, with the king's permission, resign their patents, provided that their persons and estates were secured, and that they were indemnified from their public engagements. And this latter overture only was accepted. Commissioners were named to treat with Ormond for the surrender of his government and garrisons; and in the mean time, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, were ordered for the immediate relief of Dublin.

THE nuncio, in full confidence of success, now concerted his enterprize against the capital. His reliance was on Owen O'Nial; and his favor confined to this general and his army. The assistance of Preston was rather accepted than desired; and the nuncio manifested his suspicions, by requiring him to take an oath that he would proceed faithfully and vigorously in the siege of Dublin. Preston, naturally choleric, could but resent this partiality. The forces of O'Nial were violent and indiscriminate

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in their ravages. The gentry of Leinster were provoked, and flocked in great numbers to Preston for defence against the barbarous Northerns. Thus, by the indiscretion of the nuncio, and the outrages of his favourite troops, his two generals became rivals, and their forces were ready to draw the sword against each other. Lord Digby was on the point of going to France, either to procure supplies for war, or to prevail upon that court to interpose with the Irish and incline them to peace, when he learned the secret discontents of Preston; and hence formed a project to detach him from the nuncio. A private treaty was commenced. Preston demanded security for religion: and, on this condition, promised to unite with Ormond. Some assurances were offered by Digby with respect to religion, from the queen and prince. Preston demanded the additional security of the marquis of Clanricarde, to whose direction he seemed willing to submit. Both these noblemen were solicitous to prevent any accommodation between Ormond and the English parliament. Digby, more sanguine in his expectations, not only possessed himself with a firm persuasion that Preston would be easily gained, but was amused with the hopes of making the nuncio his prisoner, by surprise. But this scheme proved ineffectual; and Ormond, who despised and suspected the faith and stability of Preston, could not be persuaded to take his part in the treaty with this general, who now advanced toward Dublin, in conjunction with O'Nial, at the head of sixteen thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse.

To proceed with the appearance of form and deliberation, their propositions were sent to the marquis of Ormond, to which his immediate answer was required. They demanded, that the exercise of the Romish religion should be as free and public in all the English garrisons, as in Paris or Brussels; and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and other places in the English quarters should be garrisoned

Carte,
vol. III.
No.
ccccxcii.

Vol. I.
p. 538.
Cox,
vol. II.
p. 173.
Borlase.

garrisoned by catholics. Ormond, in the midst of his distresses, disdained an answer to these insolent propositions. Thirty barrels of powder received from a parliament ship was the only provision for defence he had been enabled to make. He applied to the agents of the English parliament, now residing in Ulster: they refused to procure him any succours, unless he should deliver Drogheda into their hands. He addressed himself to the Scots of this province; they seemed inclined to the king's service; but, by their detachments to Scotland, and their defeat at Benburb, were too much weakened to send the succours he required. In this extremity, he attempted to transport his wife and children to the isle of Man: he had the mortification to be denied the use of a ship, unless to convey them to some place under the parliament's obedience; and, rather than accept this offer, he determined that they should share his danger. Some faint hopes he formed from the approach of winter, and the severity of the season, which might render it impracticable for the enemy to lye long encamped before the city. To make their situation still more distressful, he demolished the mills and bridges, destroyed the corn within several miles of Dublin, and thus waited the approach of the confederates.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 589.

THEY approached, and took their stations near the city with an appearance highly formidable. But the animosities of the Leinster and Ulster generals still subsisted; nor were their forces sufficiently provided against the inclemency of the season, and the poverty of the country. Whatever plan of operations was suggested by either, his rival eagerly opposed. O'Nial was dark and sarcastical, cautious of discovering his sentiments, jealous, captious, and severe. Preston irritable, open, and unrestrained, expressed his resentment with an indiscreet and indecent violence. The nuncio was alarmed at the conflict of such tempers, and was with difficulty dissuaded from committing Preston to custody. O'Nial affected to dread some insidious design against him and

and his forces. The officers of each party adopted the jealousies and resentments of their leader. Those of Leinster expressed contempt and abhorrence of the barbarous Northerners: in return, they were insulted by those of Ulster with the opprobrious appellation of Englishmen, and threatened with destruction, when Ireland should revert to its original and only rightful possessors. Thus were the two armies ready to draw the sword against each other, instead of carrying on the siege with due concert, and alacrity.

LORD Digby was still solicitous to take advantage of these animosities, to reconcile the whole body of the Irish to peace, on what he deemed reasonable terms; or, at least, to detach Preston from their confederacy, and by uniting him with Ormond, to prevent the hateful treaty with the English parliament. The marquis of Clanricarde, at his instances, repaired to the confederates. He was received with the respect due to a catholic lord of such distinguished character, and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. He undertook for the repeal of all laws against catholics; that they should retain possession of the churches until the king's pleasure should be signified, upon a full settlement of the nation; that the queen and prince should confirm these articles; and the crown of France be guarantee for their performance. The nuncio, in the extravagance of his bigoted expectations, objected to these overtures as still insufficient. They were warmly supported by the moderate and sensible part of the confederates. In the midst of their debates, intelligence arrived, that the forces of the English parliament were landed in Dublin. They started from council; O'Nial called off his men from their posts, and decamped in the night; the supreme council hasted to Kilkenny, and were followed by the nuncio; while Preston and his officers continued the negotiation, with Clanricarde, promising, on security for the conditions he proposed, to observe the late peace, to be obedient to the king's

king's authority, and to unite with Ormond against all his enemies.

THE marquis, thus extricated from his immediate danger, was more at leisure to treat with the commissioners sent by the English parliament. They saw the wretched state of Dublin, and imagined that Ormond must purchase their supplies on the severest terms. The protestant inhabitants regarded them as their deliverers; they urgently petitioned that their forces should be admitted into the city; and Ormond found it necessary to comply so far with their demands, that he permitted the soldiers to debark, and take their quarters peaceably in the suburbs. From the transactions of Clanricarde some hopes still remained of an accommodation with the Irish. He, therefore, treated with the commissioners not as a man totally desperate, but with the dignity suited to his character and station. They proposed to take the protestants of Ireland under the protection of parliament, and to allow the marquis his estate, or an annual pension of two thousand pounds, for five years, if he should not receive so much from his rents. On these conditions they demanded that he should resign his government. He objected to the lax and uncertain manner in which their overtures were expressed. He observed, that they had brought no answers to those propositions which he had transmitted to London: that they offered no security to any protestants but on condition of their obedience to all the ordinances of parliament; that they could not particularly inform him what these ordinances were, nor assure him that those which enjoyed the covenant were not included in this number; that they offered no security to those papists who were untainted by rebellion; no assurance of being continued in the public service, to any officers civil or military; that they brought no specific orders from the king which might justify his resignation of the government. In such circumstances, he declared, that he must still retain the charge

charge entrusted him: but that the kingdom might not be deprived of their succours, he proposed, that their soldiers should be distributed into garrisons, until his majesty's pleasure should be known, and their instructions from the parliament enlarged; and that they should supply him with three thousand pounds for the service of the army. These propositions were rejected; the forces were re-embarked and conveyed to Ulster; where the Scots, with difficulty, consented to receive them.

DURING this negotiation, Ormond found himself insensibly involved in another transaction, scarcely reconcileable to his principles of religion, of honor, or of policy. The marquis of Clanricarde, in his *Carte*,
treaty with general Preston, had promised the secu-
rity of the queen and prince for the advantages sti-
pulated in favor of religion. To render this ef-
fectual, it was necessary that Ormond should promise
to obey all orders in favor of the catholics receiv-
ed from the queen or prince, or such as should be
certified by lord Digby, secretary to the king, to be
his majesty's free and real pleasure. But he who
had received such proofs of the king's indulgence to
the Irish catholics, he who knew the principles and
the counsellors of the queen, could not but apprehend,
that such a promise might bind him to the most dangerous
and extravagant concessions, such as he had hitherto
rejected with disdain. Digby required him to declare,
that his majesty's gracious intentions to secure the
catholics in the free exercise of religion, were purposely
omitted in the last articles of peace, by the subtilty of
some of the Romish party, in order to enflame the
people against a treaty so essentially defective. Such a
declaration, he well knew, was inconsistent with truth.
He was to promise that no advantage should be taken
of the omission, but that the penal laws should be
repealed, and the churches left in possession of the
catholics until his majesty's pleasure should be known.
This were to adopt the religious articles granted by
Glamorgan.

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DXXII.

Glamorgan. He was not only to employ Preston and his officers, and to grant them commissions under the marquis of Clanricarde, who was to take the chief command of the catholic forces, but to admit these forces into the king's garrisons; and, particularly, to receive some of Preston's regiments into Dublin. This was dangerous, and justly and highly offensive to the protestant party,

WHILE in treaty with the commissioners of parliament, Ormond took no notice of the engagements of Clanricarde, returned no answer to the solicitations of Digby. On the departure of these commissioners, he stated his objections to the particulars required from him. Clanricarde had precipitately engaged for his compliance in these particulars. Digby exerted all his ingenuity to reconcile them to his judgment and principles. Both lords expressed the utmost confidence in the sincerity of Preston, and his dispositions to the king's service. Both entertained the most sanguine hopes from reconciling him to government. Ormond wearied by importunity, at length, consented to write to Preston, a man whom he suspected and despised. He, first, assured him in general terms, that he and his officers, on submission to the peace, should receive all due encouragement. He was again persuaded to promise him, that in full reliance on his fidelity, he and his army should be employed both in the field and in the king's garrisons. In another ostensible letter to the marquis of Clanricarde, he declared his resolution of obeying all the king's free commands in favour of Irish catholics, or during his restraint, all the commands of the queen and prince, or the significations of his majesty's pleasure, by his secretary, lord Digby*.

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* Ormond seems to have felt considerable pain at thus departing from his usual dignity and firmness of conduct. So sensible was he of the impropriety and danger of this declaration, that he, in effect, retracted it. In a letter to lord Digby, on his supposed departure to France, the marquis expresses himself thus:—"One thing I shall beseech you to be careful

THE negotiation of Clanricarde now seemed happily concluded; a negotiation which promised to relieve the lieutenant from the odious necessity of submitting to the English parliament, and to enable him to prosecute all impugners of the peace with vigour and success. Clanricarde received his commission to command the Leinster army. Preston consented to become his major-general, consulted with Ormond on the operations of war; engaged to make an attempt for securing Waterford and Kilkenny, and was speedily to be joined by the lord lieutenant and his forces. He began his march; when suddenly some agents appeared from the nuncio, who commanded him to stop; to disperse his forces; and, in case of disobedience, denounced the sentence of excommunication on him and all his followers. The contemptible bigot was terrified; and easily wrought to a full reconciliation with the nuncio and his party. Ormond was on his march, to join the Leinster army, when Clanricarde, who attended him, to his utter confusion and mortification, received a letter from Preston, informing him, that his officers had all been driven from their resolutions by the terrors of excommunication; and therefore advising, that the lieutenant should proceed no farther, but wait the issue of a general assembly at Kilkenny. In three days after this mean apology, he published a formal renunciation of his treaty with

Carle,
vol. I.
p. 194.

Cox.
vol. II.
p. 183.

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2 Q

Clanricarde

" careful to order that the commands that shall be directed to me touching this people (if any be) thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion; for in that, and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject, to OBEY BY SUFFERING. And this, I mention, lest the king's service should suffer by my scrupulousness in things another would find less difficulty in. No man knows better than your lordship where in this particular I stick; yet I hold it not amiss to remember you, that it is in what concerns any concession that may seem to perpetuate to the Roman catholics either churches, or church-livings, or that may essentially take from ours, or give to their clergy ecclesiastical jurisdiction." — CARLE, vol II I. No. DXXV.

Clanricarde, on pretence that articles were not performed on the part of government.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 595—
599.

ORMOND was not surprised at this perfidy; nor did he form any hopes from the new general assembly. Yet, to deprive the Irish of all excuse, he resolved to struggle with his difficulties a little longer, and to expect the result of this meeting. While the necessities of Dublin obliged him to march into West-Meath, to seek subsistence for his troops, this assembly was convened. The most extravagant propositions were presented by the nuncio and his clergy. They demanded the full establishment of popery, the full possession of all churches and benefices throughout the kingdom, the repeal of the common law so far as it gave the crown any ecclesiastical power, liberty to erect popish universities, to appoint provisions to all church-dignities, and to exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its full extent; and they required a new oath for continuing the association until these points should be effectually obtained. The substance of these propositions was readily accepted. By a formal resolution they condemned the late peace. The nuncio contended for censuring those commissioners who had transacted it. But in opposing this violence, the assembly was betrayed into a ridiculous inconsistency. They voted that the commissioners had acted honestly in making, and the clergy also in violating, the peace. In contradiction to the sense of the French court, signified by its minister, in contempt of a spirited remonstrance from the marquis of Ormond, they pronounced it null and void.

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HERE was a full period to all hopes from the Irish. Ormond, surrounded by a party exasperated at the repeated perfidy of this odious race, provoked at the distresses to which they had been reduced in the royal service, and unable any longer to supply the demands of a famished army, found himself, after a long series of toilsome efforts for the interests of his sovereign, deceived, destitute, and abandoned.

abandoned. He could no longer support the king's cause, or protect his protestant subjects; he, therefore, determined as his last desperate resource, to deposite the rights of the crown with the English parliament. Those who still adhered to Irish government, however zealously affected to the king, however averse to the proceedings of his opponents, yet could not deny the necessity of this resolution. The privy council concurred in it: it was approved by a parliament held in Dublin. The king was now delivered up to the commissioners appointed by the two houses to receive him from the Scots; and Ormond was assured, his majesty had signified his pleasure, that in a case of extreme necessity, he should submit rather to the English than the Irish. The king's private letters afforded Ormond abundant reason to doubt the truth of these assurances, yet they served to justify the resolution he had now formed to the public. He wrote to the parliament commissioners offering to resign his government and garrisons on their own conditions.

THE confederates, who had ever professed loyalty to the king, were not entirely insensible to the odium of forcing his lieutenant into a submission to his enemies; and at least, thought it necessary to affect a solicitude for preventing it, by renewing their overtures for an accommodation. But, as the nuncio still influenced their councils, the terms offered by the agents were insolent and extravagant. They served, however, to give the marquis some respite, and suspension of hostilities, until his treaty with the parliament should be concluded. Lord Inchiquin now regarded him as a friend, sent him some supplies, and consulted him on his operations against the Irish in Munster. This lord was at the head of five thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and was reinforced from England. He took several places from the Irish, and threatened Waterford with

Carte.
vol. I.
p. 600.

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vol. I.
p. 601.

with a siege. Preston was recalled from his petty expeditions in Leinster, to oppose the progress of lord Inchiquin; for O'Nial would obey no orders, not even of the nuncio, though his rapacious followers called themselves the pope's army. This refractory leader had lately been made general of Connaught; he was in possession of some counties of Leinster, and in all the Irish quarters, through the northern province, absolute commander. His affectation of independency, his subtle, dark, and enterprising temper; the insolence of his followers, who could not conceal the pride and prejudices of their ancient descent, and claimed the whole Island as the property of the old Irish, filled the confederates with fears and discontents. Those of Leinster, and all the catholics of English race, dreaded extirpation from these savages. So that the body of Irish insurgents, who had given such consequence, and such dignity to their original conspiracy; who had extorted the most abject condescensions from the king, and prescribed law to his lieutenant, was now on the point of breaking into virulent factions, and declaring desperate war against each other.

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Yet still were they apparently so powerful, and so infatuated by an ambitious, ignorant, and presumptuous clergy, that no intestine disorders could abate their extravagance. The propositions of the marquis of Ormond were accepted by the parliament, and their treaty commenced. But before any signature of the treaty, and when Ormond, by the delay of those succours promised, in the interim, was still at liberty to recede, Leyburne, one of the queen's chaplains, arrived in Ireland under the fictitious name of Winter Grant. He was sent with expedients for advancing a peace, and directed to act entirely in concert with the marquis of Ormond. Here was a fair occasion offered to the Irish of correcting their errors, and treating, by this agent, on fair and moderate terms. They, indeed offered their propositions

sitions by Grant, but they were the propositions dictated by the clergy, and already rejected; and they were again rejected with disdain*.

Nothing now remained for Ormond but to conclude his treaty with the parliament. His second son, lord Richard Butler, afterwards earl of Arran, the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, were sent to England as hostages for the performance of his stipulations. A considerable force marched out of Ulster to Dublin, and reinforcements sent from England were admitted into the city. On the nineteenth day of June, the articles were signed. Ormond engaged to deliver up Dub-^{Cox.}lin, and all the king's garrisons, his ordnance, ammu-^{Append.}nitio, and stores, together with the sword of state, No. and other ensigns of government, on the twenty-^{xxxviii.}eight of the succeeding month, or sooner, if required by parliament, on notice of four days. The commissioners on their part promised, that protestants should be protected; that all those who chose to attend the marquis out of Ireland should have free liberty to depart: that popish recusants, who had not engaged in the rebellion, might rest securely in the favor of parliament, according to their future demeanour; that the marquis of Ormond should have liberty to reside in England, on condition of submitting to the ordinances of parliament. They acknowledged that the sum expended by him in

* We are told, that even Owen O'Nial now began to apprehend the consequences of driving Ormond from the kingdom, and entered into some negociations with him. Ormond proposed, that if he could procure a cessation for one year, he would break off his treaty with the parliament, but required an answer within fourteen days. O'Nial dispatched his nephew, Daniel O'Nial, to recommend this measure to the supreme council. The propriety of it he explained at large to his friend Mac Mahon, the popish bishop of Clogher, and earnestly exhorted him to support it. But the infatuated council, whether influenced by this prelate or no, effectually defeated the whole project, by imprisoning Daniel until the fourteen days limited by the marquis were expired. — *BORLASS.*

in the king's service amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven pounds. They engaged to pay three thousand of this sum before his departure, and to secure the remainder by sufficient bills of exchange.

Carte,
vol. I.
p. 605.

THE parliamentarians were now complete masters of Dublin and scorned to delay the exercise of their authority until Ormond should depart. Scarcely had the treaty been signed, when the commissioners, without any ordinance of parliament, by their own absolute will and pleasure, forbade the use of the liturgy, (the only form of worship established by law) and obtruded the directory on all places of worship. The Irish catholics had already refused the least toleration of the established worship in any place subject to their power, and in the extravagance of their expectations, had disputed whether the king should be allowed one chapel in the capital, when their dominion was to extend over the whole kingdom. With the same spirit of bigotry, these zealous reformers rejected the remonstrance of the clergy, and thundered their menaces against the heinous guilt of worshipping God in any form or manner but their own. Although they were not careful to perform the stipulations of parliament, and, particularly, to enable the lieutenant to discharge his debts, by paying him the sum for which they stood immediately engaged, yet were they impatient for his departure. He delayed the resignation of his authority until the twenty-eighth day of July, in hopes of obtaining permission to transport five thousand men for the service of France, which was much desired by that court, and would serve to dignify his exile. But this overture was rejected by parliament, although the troops were to be formed of their enemies.

Their

* Their prohibition was confined to the city, or at least not obeyed without the walls. For, in the university, the bishop of Meath still continued to use the liturgy. And hither the protestants of the established church crowded with particular fervor to divine worship in this time of persecution.

Their commissioners, on the sixteenth of this month, summoned him to remove from the castle, and deliver the regalia within four days. He could not oppose their demand; but as his present removal was inconvenient, he contented them with resigning the castle to the custody of their own guards; and the ceremonial of delivering his sword was by agreement deferred to the day mentioned in the treaty.

THE moderate and sensible of the confederates were now cast into the utmost consternation, convinced at last of their own errors, and the extravagances of their party. Owen O'Nial grew every day more terrible. He was, with difficulty, restrained by the nuncio from seizing Kilkenny; and the catholics of Munster expected every moment to be exposed to his depredations. Their new general, Glamorgan, discovered too great an inclination to concur with this leader of the papal army. Lord Muskerry, the rival of this earl, and the enemy of the nuncio and O'Nial, at the moment that his destruction was meditated, fled to the Munster army, was received as their leader, and Glamorgan deposed. But notwithstanding this instance of successful vigour, it was still apprehended, that the turbulence of the nuncio must encrease, and that O'Nial would attempt some desperate purpose on the departure of the marquis of Ormond. Sir Robert Talbot, Darcy, Belling, some of the most eminent of the confederates, and even Preston himself, was now convinced, that their preservation depended on an union with Ormond. In a private conference with lord Digby, they earnestly entreated that the marquis should continue for some time longer in Ireland. But their application was too late; and their sincerity too justly suspected. Ormond could discover no good purpose to be answered by his farther residence in the kingdom, nor could he stoop to conceal himself in some retreat, when he had resigned his public character. He left the regalia to be delivered to the commissioners, embarked on the day appointed, and landed at Bristol.

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No. DLX.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

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 for England.

IRELAND, on the departure of the marquis of A. D.
 Ormond, seemed reduced to its ancient state of ^{1647,}
 anarchy and distraction. Harassed by different ar- ^{Carte,}
 mies, different factions, various pretenders to power ^{Orm.}
 and authority, wasted by war, oppressed by poverty, ^{vol. II.}
 the nation seemed ready to sink under its complicat- ^{Borlase.}
 ed miseries. In the capital, colonel Michael Jones
 was appointed governor by the parliament, and
 commander of their forces in Leinster. The inha-
 bitants, who had been habituated to the state and
 decorum of Ormond and his court, were shocked at
 the vulgar manners of this republican and his unpo-

polished train, and provoked at his severity and reserve. Some weak attempts to restore discipline, only served to irritate a famished soldiery. They plundered the inhabitants; they insulted their officers; and Jones, who could not supply their necessities, found it necessary to connive at their outrage. Three different armies of catholics were quartered in different stations. Owen O'Nial, and his barbarous followers, were equally enemies to the king and to the ruling powers of England; they professed an entire devotion to the Pope and his nuncio. The army of Preston, and that of Munster, seemed at length convinced of the error and obstinacy of their party, wished for the return of Ormond, and were inveterate enemies to the parliamentarians. The Scots of Ulster were offended at the late proceedings of England, and averse to the present government. In Munster, lord Inchiquin was incensed at some attempts to remove him from his command, during the time that lord Lisle resided in this province, with the insignificant title of the parliament's chief governor. On the same principle which had seduced him from the service of the king, he was now disposed to abandon his present masters. Such was the disunion both of catholics and protestants. And from this state of confusion we are now to deduce the affairs of Ireland, to the last conflict of its parties, and the complete and final reduction of the kingdom under the dominion of the crown of England.

LORD DIGBY, who still continued to reside near Dublin, was indefatigable in practising against the parliamentarians, and to effect the return of Ormond. His dependence was on the catholic armies of Munster and Leinster; and with their leaders he concerted his designs. The Munster army was now entrusted to the command of lord Taaffe, with the consent of Muskerry, that he might have leisure to attend the supreme council, and support the interests of their party in this assembly. That of Preston, was composed of seven thousand foot,
and

and one thousand horse, ready for action ; and, with this force, he advanced into the English quarters. Naas, and some other inconsiderable places, he soon reduced, and had the honor of repelling Jones in two skirmishes. By investing Trim, he again called out this general ; and, by the advice of lord Digby, resolved to seize the advantage of his absence from the capital. The garrison was weak ; many of the inhabitants disaffected to the parliament. By a forced march, Preston advanced towards Dublin, in full hopes of suddenly surprising it. Jones pursued with equal alacrity ; and, at a place called Dunganhill, the armies came to an engagement. The English general had been reinforced by some northern troops, so that his numbers were nearly equal to those of Preston. They rushed upon the enemy with an impetuous valour and enthusiastic hatred of the Irish ; and, though they fought without regard to orders, or any settled scheme of attack, they soon gained a complete and bloody victory. As Jones could not improve this advantage, from the want of provisions, he returned to Dublin, possessed of the enemy's arms, cannon, and baggage, with a number of prisoners, several of distinguished rank and consequence ; while Preston fled to Carlow with his horse, and there collected the shattered remains of his infantry.

THE nuncio, and his creatures, dreaded, that this general, if possessed of Dublin, would resign it to Ormond, and invite the prince of Wales into Ireland, to the utter confusion of all their fantastical projects. They received the intelligence of his defeat with joy ; and insisted on the necessity of recalling O'Nial from some petty hostilities which he carried on in Connaught, and entrusting him with the defence of Leinster. Preston had the mortification of receiving an order from the supreme council, to resign most of his remaining forces to his rival. O'Nial derided the general who could be forced to an engagement against his will, and cautiously avoiding this error, Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 5. eluded

more to give their country peace, and thus to avert its impending ruin. For this purpose, it was in the first place necessary to gain their party a superiority in the general assembly now summoned to Kilkenny; and they laboured so vigorously, and so successfully for this point, that the nuncio soon discovered the design of subverting his power, and resolved to counteract it. He had recommended eleven persons to Rome to be made bishops. He prevailed on the supreme council, formed of his own creatures, to summon these ecclesiastics by writ to the assembly. The lawyers objected, that their bulls were not yet arrived, that they were not consecrated, nor invested with their temporalities. The nuncio, at first, threatened to consecrate them himself; but as the safer and more expeditious method, ordered them to take their seats directly. The assembly was intimidated, and acquiesced; and the nuncio, of consequence, grew more insolent. Ulster had usually sent sixty three members to the general assembly; nine only now attended from this province; he insisted, that as the war had prevented a full election, these nine should be allowed sixty-three voices, but the opposite party proved strong enough to reject this extravagant demand,

Carte.
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 17.

In despite of all the opposition of Rinunccini, the assembly now declared almost unanimously for peace; and, for this purpose, resolved to send agents to the queen and prince in France, the only persons with whom they could commence a treaty. The nuncio dreaded such a deputation, as the first step to recalling Ormond, and inviting the prince of Wales to Ireland. He vehemently opposed it; he pressed the assembly to address themselves to Rome, and to implore the protection of the pope: and so far were his instances successful, that it was resolved to send deputations to Rome and Madrid, as well as to France; that those to Rome should depart first, and that the agents destined to France should there await their answer. The choice of these agents was a point of delicate discussion. The opposers of the nuncio laboured

to

to have such persons nominated as were likely to obstruct their measures, if continued in the assembly. By their management, the popish bishop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, two zealous enemies to peace, were appointed to repair to Rome. But, when they proceeded to nominate Mac Mahon of Clogher to go to France, in conjunction with lord Muskerry and Geoffry Browne, this active partizan of the nuncio saw through their design, and positively and haughtily refused to obey the order of the assembly. This insult raised a considerable ferment; but so effectually was Mac Mahon supported by the nuncio, that it was soon found necessary to substitute the marquis of Antrim in his place.

THE instructions to be given to these agents was a point in which the nuncio was particularly interested. He and his clergy, had in the fullness of their pride and folly, subscribed a declaration, that they never would consent that either the queen or prince should be invited into Ireland, until the pope's articles relative to religion were secured; that any but a Roman catholic should ever be appointed chief governor; that the forts and armies of the confederates should ever be delivered to heretics, or that any peace should be concluded which might lessen the present state and public exercise of their religion. They now contended, that the instructions of the agents destined to France, should be submitted to their inspection, and modelled agreeably to this declaration. The opposite party suffered these zealous churchmen to amuse themselves with framing the instructions, and inserting all their extravagant demands; as Muskerry and Browne had privately agreed to neglect them, and not to insist upon demands which had been already rejected, which must ever be rejected, or which tended to the subjection of their country to a foreign power, now the avowed design of the clergy and the old Irish*

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* It was particularly avowed in a tract written by an Irish Jesuit, printed about this time, and privately dispersed through the

As the session of the assembly drew towards a conclusion, each party was solicitous about the choice of the members of the supreme council. After some debates it was agreed, that the council should be formed equally of both parties. Lord Muskerry artfully suggested, that as the public affairs might call away several members from their attendance, it was necessary to appoint some supernumeraries to supply their places. His proposal was hastily embraced; and among these occasional counsellors, he contrived to introduce forty-eight of his own partizans, to the utter confusion of the nuncio.

Carr,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 20.

In the mean time, the agents proceeded in their voyage to France, arrived at Saint Germain, and were graciously received by the queen and prince. Notwithstanding her majesty's partiality to the marquis of Antrim, she soon learned that her attention was to be given principally to lord Muskerry and Geoffry Browne, as men of more real consequence and power. She conferred with them in private; they produced secret instructions signed by Preston and lord Taaffe, whereby they were directed to assure her of the unshaken loyalty of their party, and their unalterable adherence to the king's cause, in despite of those who laboured to introduce a foreign jurisdiction into Ireland; to entreat the countenance and

the nation. The positions of the author were, that the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and neglecting the conditions of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Irish nation might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors by usurpers of English and other foreign extraction; that they should kill not only all the protestants, but all the Roman Catholics of Ireland who supported the crown of England; that they should chuse an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners.—The priest in whose custody this book was seized escaped punishment by the interest of the nuncio, who laboured to save the book from censure. But, to his utter mortification, it was condemned by the supreme council, and ordered to be burnt at Kilkenny by the common hangman.—CARR, ORM. Vol. II. p. 17.

majesty and the prince; and to propose as the measure most effectual for supporting the royal authority, that the prince should come over with arms and money, condescend to the requests of moderate and well affected subjects, and take them under his command. Having thus executed their private commission, they attended Antrim to a public audience, and presented the propositions dictated by the clergy, as the mere form and ceremonial of their office.

In these transactions the queen found an able ^{Carte,} and useful assistant in the marquis of Ormond. ^{Orm.} On his departure from Ireland, this lord had been ^{vol. II.} permitted to present himself before the king at Hamp- ^{p. 11.} ton-Court, and was received with the affection due to his services. When he tendered his commission for the lieutenancy of Ireland to the king, lamenting that it had succeeded so unhappily, Charles refused to receive it, and generously replied, that the marquis alone should use it hereafter, and, he trusted, with better success. The king consulted him with the utmost confidence, and when the jealousies of the army forced the marquis to return to London, directed him to confer with the Scotch commissioners, and concert measures for engaging Scotland and Ireland in his service. The retreat of Charles to the Isle of Wight retarded his secret negotiations, but could not damp his zeal. The committee of Derby-house were alarmed; they required him to engage not to take any measures disserviceable to the parliament; they sought pretexts for seizing him: he was assured that a warrant had issued for this purpose, and instantly resolved to escape to France, whither he was soon followed by his eldest son lord Ossory.

By advice of the marquis, the queen and prince ^{p. 26.} returned a general and gracious answer to the Irish agents. They gently condemned the violation of the late peace, but expressed their satisfaction that the confederates seemed at length to discern their true interest. They observed, that the agents

were not yet ready to propose their particular desires with respect to religion, nor empowered to conclude finally on other points of moment, which might require particular discussion and alteration. In these circumstances, they were assured, that the queen and prince would take the only part that could be reasonably expected; that a person should be speedily sent into Ireland, duly authorised to receive full and particular propositions from the confederates, and to grant them every grace consistent with justice and the honor and interest of his majesty.

THE earl of Glamorgan had been for some time in Paris soliciting the lieutenancy of Ireland, with recommendations from Rinuccini to cardinal Mazarine. The marquis of Antrim indulged himself with sanguine hopes, that he should be advanced to this station by the favor of the queen. But Muskerry and Brown were privately assured, that the person intended for the government of Ireland was no other than the marquis of Ormond; and that he was speedily to be sent with such aids as could be procured from France. Next to the prince, who declared against an adventure into Ireland while the nuncio continued in the kingdom, no person was more acceptable than Ormond to these agents and their party. They took their leave with perfect satisfaction in their success, and returned to circulate the pleasing intelligence.

Belling.
Vindiciæ
cap. 7.

DURING these negotiations in France, the supreme council was deeply impressed with the present dangerous situation of the catholic confederacy. Two successive defeats had almost totally destroyed their armies. Their resources were exhausted, their adherents, impatient of distress, grew querulous and mutinous. Their declining cause was every day deserted by numbers, who purchased protection from the parliamentarians by grievous compositions. Their enemies were powerful in every province, and prevented only by the severity of winter from falling

on them with irresistible violence. With some of them it seemed absolutely necessary to effect a cessation. Even the puncio himself recommended a truce either with the Scots of Ulster, or with lord Inchiquin, the more formidable enemy, that the confederates might be thus enabled to march securely to Dublin, and exterminate the odious sectaries.

LORD INCHQUIN was prepared to meet their A. D. wishes. Immediately after his victory at Knockno-^{1648.} ness, he had given some sign of disaffection to the parliament, by a bold remonstrance against their neglect of his forces, and the distresses to which he had been abandoned. And though he continued his operations against the Irish, and even threatened Kilkenny with a siege, yet he held a secret correspondence with the marquis of Ormond, and projected schemes for recalling him to Ireland, and uniting with him against the governor of Dublin and his party. Lord Broghill, second to Inchiquin in command, had conceived some displeasure against this lord. Ormond contrived to reconcile them, and to engage Broghill in their design. An emissary was dispatched to the confederates to treat about a cessation. Taaffe and Preston bound themselves by a solemn oath to support the king's rights, and to obey his lord lieutenant. Inchiquin entered into the same engagements. The Scots of Ulster gave assurances of uniting with Ormond, not only against Owen O'Nial and all the Irish who continued in their disobedience to the crown, but against the independent party of England and Ireland. Thus was a powerful union successfully concerted in favor of the royal cause, when some English officers of Munster attached to the independent party, suspecting the design of their general, formed a scheme of defeating it, by seizing Cork and Youghall. They were discovered and imprisoned. But this incident obliged lord Inchiquin publicly to avow his revolt, before the necessary measures were sufficiently secured; and particularly before the cessation with the Irish

Irish was concluded; a point of the utmost moment, as it was to prepare the way for a powerful conjunction of the confederates with the protestant royalists.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 81.

BUT in this point, embarrassments and delays were now experienced. The nuncio had but a few weeks since earnestly recommended a cessation. Equally an enemy both to the royal and popular party, he indulged his imagination with projects of detaching Ireland entirely from the English government, in whatever form, and by whatever powers it was administered. Transported by his visions of a pope supreme monarch of Ireland, and a stately hierarchy to execute his government, he turned his eyes from the calamities of the nation with a steady insensibility; and, from the moment that Inchiquin declared for the king, exclaimed loudly against any cessation with this lord. The supreme council repeatedly endeavoured to obviate his wild objections. The nuncio, as usual, recurred to the clergy. A number of bishops assembled at his house, and protested against the cessation. The council was provoked and astonished at this extravagance; yet, not entirely superior to the fear of excommunication, hesitated and delayed. Clanricarde, Taaffe, and Preston, laboured to confirm them in the resolution of giving some relief to their distracted country. The supernumerary members of the supreme council supported the sentiments of these leaders; the provincial assemblies of Leinster and Munster appeared at Kilkenny, and loudly urged the necessity of a cessation. The nuncio, and his clergy, while they raved of the church and its rights, of opposing heretics, of avenging the slaughter of their holy brethren, and the pollution of their altars at Cashel, could propose no reasonable scheme for carrying on the war. It was, therefore, resolved, after various debates and conferences, that the cessation should be concluded, with the clause of mutual assistance against all those who should oppose it by hostilities.

THE

THE nuncio was enraged even to a degree of phrenzy. He fled secretly from Kilkenny, and cast himself into the arms of his favourite O'Nial, whom he conjured to march without delay against the profane betrayers of the church. The council respectfully entreated him to return, and to confer temperately on public affairs. He disclaimed all connexion with them, unless the generals of their Leinster and Munster armies were displaced, provisions and quarters assigned to the forces of O'Nial, and the whole conduct of peace and war submitted absolutely to the clergy. He caused their protest against the cessation to be affixed on the doors of the cathedral in Kilkenny; and, when this was contemptuously-torn down, his sentence of excommunication was thundered against all those who contrived or favoured the cessation, and an interdict denounced on all places in which it should be accepted or maintained.

RINUNCCINI, in the blindness of his presumption, conceived that these severities must have the same force and effect with the censures published on the peace of forty-six. But times and circumstances were changed. By fulminating his spiritual terrors upon many trivial occasions, he had rendered them contemptible. Men were gradually roused by his violences from a state of stupid submission, and grew ashamed of their superstitious fears. In his former sentence of excommunication, he had been supported by a considerable number of bishops, now only by four. The pretence for the first was, that no provision had been made for religion in the articles of peace. In the present treaty there were express provision for the interests of the clergy, and the freedom of the catholic worship; and these seemed so favourable, that eight prelates retracted the protest formerly signed against the cessation, and recommended pacific measures to the nuncio. The supreme council ventured to appeal in form against his censures, in which they were supported by two archbishops, twelve bishops, all the secular clergy
of

of their dioceses, by all the Jesuits and Carmelites, many of the Augustinians and Dominicans, above five hundred Franciscans, the most exemplary and intelligent of all those legions of ecclesiastics which overspread the nation.

Belling.
Vindiciæ,
cap. 12.

THOUGH the power of the nuncio was thus evidently on the decline, yet still he was supported by no inconsiderable party. Those of the clergy who expected preferment from his favor, those of the laity who looked for the restoration of their paternal lands by the expulsion of the English and Scots, they who were oppressed by debts, and they who only subsisted by public commotions, all declared for desperate measures, and crowded to the standard of Owen O'Nial; who, though sworn to obey the orders of the confederates, yet acted as if the nuncio had absolved him from his oath, and solemnly denounced war against the supreme council and their adherents. Taafé, Preston, and Clanricarde, took vigorous measures for opposing him. Their armies were so formed, that the officers, to a man, despised the censures of the nuncio. Though it was in their power to have seized him and O'Nial as they lay at Maryborough, yet they industriously avoided all violent measures. They contented themselves with desiring that the nuncio should not trouble them with any letters or orders, as they were determined to obey those only of the supreme council; and a considerable force was detached to Kilkenny to support the authority of this assembly.

Carte.
Orm.
vol. II.

WAR being thus declared between the different parties of the confederates, O'Nial contrived to make a truce with the Ulster Scots, in order to be more at leisure to prosecute his operations. He collected his forces from Connaught and Ulster; but the nuncio had now no money to supply them. Their ravages were universally detested, and they soon found themselves unable to contend with the army of Preston, reinforced by some troops of Inchiquin and Taafé. Athlone, which had for some time

time been possessed by the nuncio's partizans, was besieged by Preston and the marquis of Clanricarde, reduced before O'Nial could arrive to its relief, and the nuncio driven from this city to Galway. Here he endeavoured to convene a synod of the clergy, in order to confirm his censures by their sanction. Clanricarde, by order of the supreme council, prevented them from assembling, invested the city, and obliged the inhabitants to proclaim the cessation, to pay a considerable sum of money, and utterly to renounce the nuncio and his adherents.

THIS prelate, still undismayed, issued his comminations in his own name, and by his own authority, since he could not collect the clergy, and declared those who favored or adhered to the cessation to be guilty of mortal sin. Yet, notwithstanding these ridiculous censures of all those who presumed to treat with heretics, his favorite, Owen O'Nial, was permitted to make overtures of accommodation to Jones, at Dublin, the inveterate enemy of the king, the confederates, and Roman Catholic religion. Jones had not been inattentive to the distractions of the Irish, but could not venture to take advantage of them, as he suspected the fidelity of his garrison, and was persuaded that numbers of his officers only waited for the arrival of Ormond to declare in favor of the king. To quiet his apprehensions, he boldly seized the most suspected, sent some to England, imprisoned others in the castle of Dublin; while Monk, to whom the parliament had entrusted the command of Ulster, made a bold irruption into this province, surprised Carricfergus, seized Monroe, and sent him prisoner to England; easily reduced Belfast and Colerain, and stationed his garrisons on the frontiers, to restrain the incursions of the Irish. Owen O'Nial, who, in effect, declared against the marquis of Ormond, was received with open arms by these triumphant independents. Jones readily consented to an accommodation with him, and permitted him to march unmolested through Leinster, in prosecution of his
designs

designs against the common enemy. Disappointed in his attempt to relieve Athlone, Owen now formed a bold design to surprize Kilkenny, and at once seize the whole supreme council.

Belling.
Vindicia,
cap. 14.

In this city, the capital of the Irish quarters, and chief seat of their government, there was not wanting a number of busy spirits, impatient for innovation, and zealous for the interest of the nuncio and O'Nial, those champions of the church. Of these, one Paul King, an ecclesiastic, engaged to form a party, and betray Kilkenny to O'Nial. No season could be more favourable to such a design. The marquis of Antrim had lately returned from France, with all his hopes of being advanced to the government of Ireland utterly confounded. Provoked at this disappointment, he joined the party who opposed the cessation, and gave O'Nial the most magnificent assurances of support, by his interest in Ulster. This conjunction served to encrease the consequence of Owen, and to animate his partizans. On the other hand, the forces of his adversaries were dispersed. But the slow and cautious procedure of this general was not calculated for an enterprize of alacrity. The design on Kilkenny was discovered, and Inchiquin had already arrive to the assistance of the supreme council, when his forces were ravaging the country at some miles distance from this city.

O'NIAL could now but continue his depredations, while Inchiquin and part of Preston's army advanced close upon him. Unable to contend with their united numbers, he craftily proposed an accommodation to lord Inchiquin, offering to leave Munster unmolested, provided that his operations in the other provinces were not opposed. Instead of accepting this proposition, Inchiquin endeavoured to force him to an engagement; but the wary Northern eluded all his attempts, and after some considerable operations and successes gained on each side, at length found it necessary to retreat to Ulster.

Now was the marquis of Antrim more successful ^{Carta,} in his attempts to oppose the cessation. He had led ^{Orm.} a party of Scottish Highlanders into Ireland, rein- ^{vol. II.} forced them by some Irish partizans at Wexford, ^{p. 42.} and seemed to grow to some degree of consequence and power, when his party was suddenly attacked by a detachment of the confederate forces, and defeated, with the slaughter of his brave Highlanders. The nuncio, dismayed at this accident, fled to O'Nial; but the vanity of Antrim was not abated; he addressed himself to Jones, he boasted his power in the Northern province, and promised the most important services against the Irish. Jones agreed to support him; O'Nial consented to serve under him; but his sanguine hopes and ostentatious engagements only served as usual, to expose him to disgrace. His insignificance was soon discovered, and the command, rashly conferred upon him, was resumed by O'Nial.

In the mean time a general assembly was con- ^{Belling.} vened at Kilkenny, composed almost entirely of those ^{Vind.} who wished for peace, and condemned the excesses ^{Borlase.} of the nuncio. Muskerry and Brown arrived from France, and assured them that the marquis of Ormond was speedily to follow, and to co-operate with them in restoring the public tranquillity. Encouraged by this intelligence, they proceeded with unusual vigour and resolution. They formally approved and ratified the cessation made by the supreme council. Provoked at the outrages of Owen O'Nial, and affecting the utmost horror at his transactions with Jones, equally repugnant to loyalty and religion, they declared him a traitor by proclamation. Scarcely did they discover more tenderness to the nuncio. They renewed the appeal to Rome against his sentence of excommunication; and, when Rinuccini contrived to have their Messenger to the pope secured, and his papers seized, this new outrage only served to enflame their resentments. All the catholics of Ireland, and particularly those of Galway, where his influence was greatest, were forbidden, under the severest penal-

ties, to hold any intercourse or correspondence with him; at the same time he received a letter signed by the prolocutor of the assembly, exhorting him to depart from a kingdom so long harassed by his factious turbulence, and to prepare his defence against those articles of accusation which the assembly had drawn up, and intended to exhibit to the pope, whose instructions he had neglected, and whose authority he had so notoriously disgraced.

Carle,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 39.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the marquis of Ormond embarked, at the repeated instances of lord Inchiquin, arrived at Cork, and was received with the respect due to a chief governor. The object of his enterprize was to unite the protestant and popish royalists, which, in the present desperate situation of the king, seemed to be the only expedient left for averting his ruin. It was, in the first place, necessary to conciliate the Munster army commanded by Inchiquin. As he had been disappointed in his expectations from France, and the small sums of money, he had been enabled to procure, were totally exhausted, he was obliged to recur to artifice and evasion to conceal his poverty; lavished his promises of an immediate supply; and particularly assured them, that the prince would send that part of the navy, which had revolted to him, to some port of Munster, to assist them with large quantities of corn, and to enrich the soldiery by continual prizes. These promises he enforced by a declaration, addressed to all the protestants of Munster. In the usual style of such addresses, he apologized for his late surrender of Dublin; professed, that in obedience to his majesty's commands, founded on observation of that integrity which the protestant army of this province had manifested, he was now returned for recovery of the king's rights; that he was resolved, at the hazard of his life, to oppose all rebels; and, particularly, to suppress the independent party: that all engaged in this cause should be treated with equal favor, and without any

Cox.
Append.
No. xlii.

any invidious distinction; and that his utmost diligence should be exerted to provide for their subsistence, and preservation from those hardships they had formerly experienced.

For the present, the army appeared satisfied; and the marquis was in the next place to treat with the general assembly at Kilkenny. His authority, as lord lieutenant, still subsisted, but his commission for concluding a peace with the confederates had determined upon the treaty made in the year sixteen hundred and forty six. The queen and prince, indeed, had given him powers to treat; but, in a transaction which demanded the utmost caution and delicacy, he required immediate instructions from the king. Charles was, at this time, engaged in the treaty of Newport. Among his other concessions to the parliament commissioners, he agreed, that an act should pass, rescinding all cessations and treaties with the Irish, and investing the houses with a full power of prosecuting the war in Ireland. He instantly notified this incident to his lieutenant, at the same time directing him to take no notice of any of his public commands, during his present state of restraint, but to obey those of the queen. "Be not startled," said he, "at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for they will come to nothing." It is not here necessary to enter into a discussion of this conduct of the king, or to consider how far it may be defended by the nature of his negotiations at Newport, in which the concessions on his part were but conditional, and to be valid only on the final conclusion of the whole treaty. Let it be sufficient to observe, that Ormond had now an additional authority, to satisfy the scruples of those who might object to the sufficiency of his powers from the queen and prince.

In full expectation of receiving such authority, he had notified to the general assembly, that, agreeably to their petition presented at Saint Germain's, he was
sent

sent with power to conclude a peace, and that as little time might be lost as possible, he would expect their commissioners at his house at Carrick, about fourteen miles distant from Kilkenny. Their commissioners were appointed, to the utter mortification of the nuncio and his party. In the agonies of their expiring power, these ecclesiastics exclaimed outrageously against the impiety of betraying the holy church, and all her rights, and precipitating the conclusion of a pernicious treaty, without even waiting the return of their emissaries from Rome, who were daily expected with vast sums of money to support the catholic cause. Nor were such clamours without their effect. The assembly were the more careful to shew their attachment to the church. A bishop was appointed one of their commissioners; and he was admitted by the lord lieutenant, contrary to his former sentiments. Their demands relative to religion were extensive and explicit, and for twenty days became the subject of perpetual conferences.

Borlase.

THE commissioners who attended at Carrick were so limited in their instructions, and so much time was wasted in reporting their proceedings to the assembly, receiving their further directions, returning to the marquis, and renewing their conferences, that the assembly invited Ormond to repair to his own castle at Kilkenny, where he might reside with honor and security, and carry on the treaty with expedition. He accepted the invitation. He was met at some distance from the city by the whole body of the assembly, nobility, clergy, and gentry, conducted with the utmost pomp, received by the magistrates in their formalities, lodged in his castle, and surrounded by his own guards, with all the honor due to his station, and every expression of reverence and affection. But, while Ormond was here engaged in negotiation, a dangerous spirit of mutiny in the army of lord Inchiquin required his presence in Cork. These forces, confounded at the success of the independent,

independent party, and disappointed in their expectations of money, grew discontented and clamorous. Some of their officers thought it necessary to make their peace in time with the ruling power of England. Propositions were sent to parliament, in which it was pretended that Inchiquin himself concurred: they complained of dangerous concessions meditated by Ormond in favor of the Irish; they talked of joining with Jones at Dublin, or forcing their way to the quarters of Owen O'Nial. The treaty was thus necessarily suspended. The general assembly consented to continue their session while the marquis was called away to the assistance of lord Inchiquin. A messenger from the prince landed opportunely at Cork, with assurances, that the fleet was speedily to arrive with ammunition and provisions; that the duke of York was immediately to sail, and that the prince of Wales was soon to follow. This flattering intelligence, together with the vigilance of Inchiquin, and the address of Ormond, soon quieted the commotions of the army. Some officers were imprisoned, others displaced, and the forces so modelled, as to ensure their future quiet and attachment. And thus was the marquis of Ormond enabled to return to Kilkenny, and resume his negotiations.

A copy of his letter to the supreme council, notifying his arrival in Ireland, and his powers of concluding a peace, had by this time been procured by Jones, transmitted to England, and sent by the parliament to their commissioners in the Isle of Wight. Charles was required to disavow this proceeding; and, by a public letter to the marquis, he commanded him to desist from any further treaty with the Irish. But he had already contrived to convey a private answer to the application made by Ormond for his immediate instructions. He repeated his direction that he should obey the queen's commands, and proceed in the course he was pursuing. He, therefore, proceeded without scruple.

DURING

DURING the interval of his absence at Cork, the Irish agents arrived from Rome, laden with reliques and benedictions, but without supplies of any kind. The Pope pleaded the distresses of the holy see, which prevented him from advancing any money to the Irish; nor would he express his sense of the conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, but left them to pursue the dictates of their own judgment. This disappointment served to confirm the moderate part of the confederates in their dispositions to peace. Yet still the various passions, prejudices, and interests, which prevailed in the general assembly, embarrassed the progress of the treaty, and obliged Ormond to remonstrate warmly against the extravagance of their demands, and the danger of their delay. But what was of still greater effect, the remonstrance of the army to the parliament of England, requiring that the king should be brought to justice, was about this time received by lord Inchiquin and sent to Kilkenny. Its effect in Ireland was sudden and powerful. All complaints in the protestant army were silenced; the confederates stricken with a violent impression of the king's situation, and possibly of their own danger, at once acceded to the terms proposed by Ormond. The treaty was concluded, the peace proclaimed; and even the clergy, however disappointed in some of their extravagant demands, expressed their satisfaction, and by declarations, and circular letters, recommended the strict observance of this peace.

WITH respect to civil affairs, the articles were generally copied from those of the year forty-six. In religion, the concessions of the marquis of Ormond were such as he had formerly rejected with firmness, and such as had been abhorred by the general body of protestants. All the penal statutes were to be repealed, and the catholics left to the free and secure exercise of their religion. They were not, indeed, expressly allowed their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor the grant of churches and church-livings;

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 49.

Cox,
Append.
No. xliii.

livings; nor were they expressly restrained in these points. On the contrary, they were secured in the possession of such churches as they now held, until the king's pleasures should be freely and authentically declared. And that greater precision was not used, and more extensive concessions granted in these articles, was imputed entirely to the limited powers of the lieutenant. What was equally odious, and appeared highly dangerous, the marquis consented to divest himself of the full power inherent in his office, in order to allay the fears of those who were conscious of their former perfidy and guilt, and dreaded that the articles of the present treaty might not be observed. Twelve commissioners were named by the general assembly, and styled COMMISSIONERS OF TRUST. They were to take care that the articles of peace should be duly performed, until they should be ratified in a full and peaceable convention of parliament. They were to be joint sharers with the lord lieutenant in his authority; so that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor even erect garrisons, without the approbation of the major part of these commissioners.

ORMOND, sensible that such concessions must prove highly offensive to the zealous protestants, instantly published a declaration to explain and justify his treaty. He professed, that his care for the protestant religion, and the interests of the crown had been continued through his whole conduct, to the conclusion of the peace; for this he appealed to the articles, which, as he alleged, amounted to no more than some moderate indulgence to the confederates, together with some things necessary to their present security, until an act of oblivion should be passed in parliament. He observed, that he had made no accommodation with those who had any share in the barbarities committed in the beginning of the rebellion; that he had not condescended to any articles, until the treaty between the king and parliament had been broken off, and the army proclaimed

Belling.
Vind.
cap. 17.

Clarend.
Hist. of
the Irish
Reb.
p. 74.

Carte.
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 82.

ed their horrid design against the king's life. "This," said he, "we mention not to invalidate any of the concessions made unto this people; but, on the contrary, to render them in every point the more sacred and inviolable, by how much the necessity on his majesty's part for granting them is greater, and the submission on their part to his majesty's authority, in such his great necessity, more opportune and seasonable; as also, to call the world, (and whomsoever either any peace at all with the Irish, or the terms of this peace may be distasteful unto) to testify, hereafter, that as the full benefit thereof cannot without great injustice, and somewhat of ingratitude (if we may so speak in the case of his majesty) with reference to this last act of theirs, be denied unto them;—so any blame thereof, ought to be laid on those alone who have imposed the said necessity, the saddest to which any king was ever reduced."

BUT whatever hopes the marquis conceived from his liberal concessions to the Irish: whether he still flattered himself with expectations of leading a powerful army of royalists to the king's rescue, whether he fancied that the prosecutors of this unhappy prince might be terrified from their present purpose, by the apprehensions of a powerful invasion from Ireland; it was now too late to serve his royal master. Charles was brought to his trial; and before, the intelligence of the Irish treaty arrived at London, he had already received the fatal stroke.

Borlase. THE news of this catastrophe was received by the marquis of Ormond at Youghal, as he returned from visiting prince Rupert; who, to the great consolation of the royalists, had arrived at Kinsale with the fleet so long expected. He instantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king, and caused the like proclamation to be made in all places subject to his authority. Such was the detestation expressed by the Irish at the execution of Charles, that the nuncio at once concluded the whole party would

would submit to the lord lieutenant. He had for some time continued in Ireland, notwithstanding his disgraces, in hopes that some favourable incident might draw the nation into his measures. His hopes were now desperate; he resolved to retire from a country, which he had so long distracted by his senseless ambition; he embarked privately; and, from France, still continued to enflame the Irish clergy by his letters, until he was recalled to Rome.

The marquis of Ormond, who was confirmed in his government by the new king, and whose attachment to the royal cause was fixed and invariable, had now a variety of enemies and difficulties to encounter. The capital was in possession of the parliament; and Jones, their governor, expected powerful reinforcements. Sir Charles Coote maintained Derry for the parliament. The British forces of Ulster professed an abhorrence of the king's death; but their abhorrence of the Irish was equally violent. They disdained any connection with the confederates or their supreme council, and neither acceded to the peace, nor acknowledged the authority of the lord lieutenant. Owen O'Nial, leader of a formidable Irish army, still declared in favor of the nuncio's measures, and bade defiance to the royal party. Some of these various enemies were if possible, to be reconciled. Ormond first applied to O'Nial, who consented to a treaty. But the commissioners of trust, who hated and dreaded him, refused to allow him such a number of forces as he demanded on an accommodation. The treaty was thus broken off. The marquis next addressed himself to Coote. Coote returned only vague and general professions, although he had formerly declared against taking any part with those who should change the government, or injure the person or posterity of the king. He endeavoured, in the last place, to practise with Jones. Jones declared his firm resolution of adhering to his principles and party, and supporting the English interest. To his pathetic representations

sentations of the king's injuries and sufferings, he coldly answered, that Ormond must blame himself for the death of this unhappy prince; for, by his arrival and transactions in Ireland, while the treaty of Newport was depending, he had impressed the minds of men with a firm persuasion of the king's total insincerity, and determined them to desperate measures. It scarcely served to allay the mortification arising from these repeated disappointments, and the distresses of the marquis, that the British forces of Ulster declared for the king, and blocked up Sir Charles Coote in Derry.

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Orm.
vol. II.
p. 60.

Ormond was now to collect an army from men of different nations, religions, interests, and passions; to unite those who for eight years had waged bitter war against each other, with every circumstance of barbarous animosity and revenge. He had few officers on whose affection and abilities he could rely; was utterly ignorant of the circumstances of the confederate party, their stores, magazines, artillery, lists, and quarters of their men; the state of their garrisons, and dispositions of the commanders in their several forts and cities. They had engaged for an army of fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. But the provinces could not maintain this number; and those whom they dismissed found a ready entertainment from O'Nial. The leaders contended with each other for military honours and commands, and perplexed the lord lieutenant by their rivalships and competitions. The marquis of Clanricarde soon perceived his distress; and, with a disinterested zeal for the royal service, resigned his post of lieutenant general, to assist him in contenting the various claimants. The commissioners of trust, attentive only to their private interests took little care to provide magazines or money. They had, indeed, apploited sixty thousand pounds upon the kingdom; but, when the marquis was to take the field, no part of this applotment was collected. He applied, in person, to several cities and incorporate

incorporate towns. These, like so many petty republics, obeyed no orders of the general assembly, but directed all contributions by their own acts, and granted or denied them, as they deemed most suitable to their own convenience. At Waterford, he procured seven thousand pounds, by mortgaging the king's rents and customs; five thousand were promised by Limerick, Galway engaged for the same sum. The securities were reluctantly accepted, and the money slowly paid.

SOME assistance he expected from the fleet under the command of prince Rupert, though this fleet was not directly subject to his orders. But Rupert, whether he envied the glory which Ormond might acquire from reducing Ireland to the king's obedience, or from whatever other mean and factious motive, studied from the first to disconcert the lieutenant. He had desired one thousand landmen to man his fleet; and, no sooner were they granted, when his partiality to the Irish, encouraged them to sedition. Contrary to the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate their mass in the sea-ports; and, spirited up by the attendants of the prince, they insulted the protestants, and raised such commotions, as all the diligence and prudence of lord Inchiquin were scarcely sufficient to allay: Rupert himself held a correspondence with Antrim, O'Nial, and other discontented Irish. Encouragement was given in his name to all who were willing to serve the king in "an opposite way to the present government." Thus was a turbulent spirit excited in Connaught, which Clanricarde with difficulty repressed; schemes were formed for raising forces in the South; Ormond discovered these practices, and Rupert was ashamed to avow them. As the marquis now meditated the design of investing Dublin, the prince was intreated to block up the harbour with his fleet. Jones must have thus been speedily reduced to extremity; but a service so easy and so essential to the king's interest, prince Rupert unaccountably declined. With the same obstinacy he refused

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p. 65.

refused to favor the blockade of Derry, and to cut off the supplics expected by Sir Charles Coote; nor would he furnish Ormond with the money, which the king had directed him to pay to his lieutenant for the public service.

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Orm.
vol. II.
p. 62.

In this complicated distress, Ormond earnestly urged that the king himself should repair to Ireland. The power of the commissioners of trust would be thus dissolved; the loyalists enlivened; every man would press forward to distinguish himself in the service of his sovereign; most of the forces of Jones would desert; Owen O'Nial would be reconciled to government. He had already assured the king of his submission immediately on his arrival, on the terms of being included in the act of oblivion, allowed liberty of conscience, employed in his majesty's army, and advanced to the dignity of an earl. The king himself seemed perfectly convinced of the propriety of this adventure; when the Scottish commissioners attended him at the Hague, he referred them to his arrival in Ireland for an answer to their imperious propositions. His heavy baggage and inferior servants were embarked, and actually landed. But three months were wasted in a vain expectation of assistance from the States; more time lost at Saint Germain's; and, though the king still adhered to his resolution, and proceeded to the Isle of Jersey, yet the time of action was already arrived, and Ormond obliged to take the field.

p. 69.

THE reduction of Dublin was now the great object of his enterprizes. To gain this city, was, in effect, to gain the whole kingdom. He flattered himself that it would also produce an insurrection in England; that numbers who detested the king's death would be encouraged to declare themselves; and was particularly assured that many London merchants only waited until Dublin should be in the hands of the royalists, to transport themselves and their effects, amounting to an immense value, and carry on their commerce in Ireland. For an attempt

tempt of such consequence, Ormond was miserably provided: he had no magazines; no money; the forces on which he was to depend grew mutinous by their distresses; and the Irish, in particular, were unused to discipline, impatient of restraint, without zeal for the cause in which they were engaged, and only to be bribed to their duty; proud of being found necessary to the king's service; filled with their own imaginary consequence, and insolent to their fellow-soldiers. About two thousand of the Munster army, which Ormond contrived to collect in the month of May, were employed under the earl of Castlehaven to reduce those places in Leinster, which were still possessed by the forces of Owen O'Neal; and, though they struggled with extreme difficulties, yet they performed this service. Sir George Monroe, whom the king had commissioned to command in Ulster, was detached into Connaught to make a diversion in favor of the forces employed against Coote; and, having in conjunction with Clanricarde, reduced the parliamentary garrisons in the West, marched to the support of the army which lay before Derry. In the mean time, the lord lieutenant mustered six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, near Carlow; and, by the help of some money borrowed from private persons, put this body in motion. He reduced Kildare, and other places held by the enemy; but the necessities of his army were a fatal impediment to his progress; so that when Jones had marched to some distance from the capital, and Ormond had the fairest opportunity of engaging him to advantage, he was forced to keep his station westward of the Liffey, and to suffer the governor to retire unmolested.

NOR was Jones without his difficulties and distresses. A great part of his garrison was disaffected, held a secret correspondence with Ormond, and impatiently expected his approach. His provisions were exhausted; nor were his forces sufficient to meet the enemy in the field, even if no suspicions were

Belling.
Vind.
cap. 19.

Carte.
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 71-78.

were entertained of their fidelity.. But, as prince Rupert obstinately and repeatedly refused to block up the harbour of Dublin, he soon gained some reinforcements and some provisions from England. Nor did he want address and industry to find resources in Ireland. Owen O'Nial whose overtures had been disdainfully rejected by the confederates, commenced a treaty with the parliamentary leaders, which Jones found it highly expedient to encourage. Owen was now encamped in the county of Monaghan, with his rear to Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, and other places possessed by Monk. Their mutual interests produced a cessation between these two commanders. The Irish general even declared his readiness to form a permanent accommodation with the ruling powers of England; offered his propositions, and was amused with frequent conferences. To Jones he promised that he would find full employment for the marquis of Ormond, if he were furnished with money and ammunition; and of these he was readily assured. At the same time, the governor of Dublin found means of practising with the officers who served under Preston, and so wrought on these, and their general, that they formed a base design upon the life of Ormond, which was either timely discovered, or which they had not the hardiness to execute.

In the midst of these dangers and difficulties, Ormond was reinforced by two thousand of lord Inchiquin's foot; and having received some supplies of money by the industry of Castlehaven and Taafé, proceeded in his expedition. At Naas, it was resolved, in a council of war, to advance against Dublin. He marched to Castle-knock, within cannon shot of the gates, in hopes of raising some commotion within the walls; but, after some inconsiderable skirmishes, found it necessary to encamp at Fiaglass, within two miles of the city. Here he received intelligence, that Jones had detached most part of his horse to Drogheda, a motion which, by cutting

ting off his provisions, must reduce his army to extreme distress. Lord Inchiquin was instantly sent in pursuit of them with a strong body of cavalry, surprised, and routed the party, laid siege to Drogheda, and soon obliged this city to surrender. Having intelligence of a body of horse and foot employed to escort some ammunition furnished by the parliamentarians to Owen O'Nial, he attacked and routed the horse, cut the infantry to pieces, invested Dundalk, which Monk, was forced, by his own soldiers, to surrender; and, having reduced some less considerable garrisons, returned triumphantly to the camp at Finglass.

ON the return of Inchiquin, the army was found to consist of seven thousand foot, and four thousand horse, a force insufficient to form the siege of an extensive and populous city, defended by a numerous garrison. It was resolved, however, to encompass Dublin on all sides; and while lord Dillon of Costello was left on the north with two thousand five hundred men, Ormond, with the rest of the army, crossed the Liffey, and encamped at Rathmines, proposing to extend his works to the east, so as to command the entrance of the river. Some disagreeable advices served to damp the joy arising from the late successes of lord Inchiquin. In the northern province, the British troops, who had invested Derry, from their aversion to the independent party, began to suspect that their leaders, regardless of the ends of the covenant, really intended to restore the king without conditions, and to re-establish the hated order of bishops. Possessed with these fears, they refused obedience to their general, lord Montgomery of Ardes, renounced the cause and adherents of an uncovenanted king, deserted in great numbers, and dispersed. Sir Charles Coote seized the advantage of this dissension: and, addressing himself to Owen O'Nial, engaged him, by a large sum of money, to march to his relief. Lord Ardes was too much weakened to await his approach; and therefore, raised the siege of Derry, at the time when Coote was

was reduced to extreme distress. What was still more alarming to the army before Dublin, three English officers, Reynolds, Hunk, and Venables, arrived at this city, with two thousand foot and six hundred horse, a considerable sum of money, and various necessaries for the garrison, at the time when Ormond was on his march to Rathmines. By the very ships which brought these succours, intelligence was conveyed to Ormond and Inchiquin, that Dublin was now thought to be sufficiently defended; that Cromwell lay at Bristol with a great army, and that he designed to land in Munster.

In this province many were devoted to the ruling power of England: the royal garrisons were weak; and Cromwell, it was justly supposed, would be perfectly informed of their condition. By reducing Munster, he would become master of the best ports of the kingdom, he would cut off the provisions of the army; so that, if Dublin were reduced, they must be still distressed; and should they fail in their present attempt, their cause must be utterly desperate. It was therefore resolved without hesitation, that lord Inchiquin should march to the South with three regiments of horse to strengthen the garrisons, and, by his presence, to confirm the people in their attachment to the royal cause. At the same time, it was determined to continue the blockade of Dublin, as it must prove a dangerous discouragement to their party, should the present enterprize be abandoned. Yet, as their diminished numbers required greater caution, it was the opinion of a council of war, that the marquis (when the enemy's party was first driven from Rathfarnham, a service easily effected) should remove from Rathmines to a securer quarter, at a place called Drummah, whence he might hold an uninterrupted communication with the party stationed on the north side of the river.

Carte,
Oria.
vol. II.
p. 29-31.

A motion which had the air of a retreat, was utterly intolerable to many officers who had more confidence

confidence than skill. They represented the reduction of Dublin as a work of less difficulty than was pretended; they observed, that the enemy's horse subsisted only by the convenience of some meadows near the walls on the south-side of the river; that to deprive them of this pasture, and thus, in a few days, to starve their horse, nothing more was necessary than to possess the adjoining castle, called Baggatrath, which might be sufficiently fortified in one night. Hence might the works be advanced securely to the river, so as to cut off the garrison from farther succours, and provoke them to compel their officers to relieve their intolerable distress by a surrender of the city.

AN overture so plausible was approved by the council of war; nor did Ormond venture, by his own authority, to forbid an enterprize of gallantry, which, in the opinion of his principal officers, was practicable and promising. At the close of day, an officer of the name of Purcell was detached with fifteen hundred foot to Baggatrath, while the rest of the forces were drawn up in battalia to support him against any interruption from the town. Although the castle lay but about a mile distant from the camp, yet the whole night was wasted in traversing the adjacent country, before Purcell could gain his place of destination and commence his works. The treachery of the guides alone could have occasioned this day; and one Reily, an ecclesiastic, who had carried on a correspondence between Jones and O'Nial, afterwards claimed the merit of betraying the royal army. Ormond had been all night employed either in the field, or in his tent. In the morning, he found Baggatrath not so strong, nor his works so far advanced as he expected. Parties of the enemy were discovered lying between this castle and the strand. It was evident, that Jones would hazard an engagement; and as the whole army must now be drawn out, it seemed not more dangerous to support their party in their works, than to cover their retreat. Ormond, having made the necessary

VOL. III. 2 X dispositions,

dispositions, in full expectation of a sally, retired to his tent to take some repose, but was quickly roused by repeated volleys; and scarcely had he ridden one hundred yards, when he found the party of Purcell driven from their works; Sir William Vaughan, another of his officers, routed and slain; his horse flying; and his whole right wing completely broken. When he had, in vain, endeavoured to correct this disorder, he forced this way to the left; but here the troops at once caught the panic, and fled, without firing on the enemy. Those stationed on the other side of the river, instead of endeavouring to recover the victory from an enemy in confusion, and solely intent on plunder, consulted only their present security, and cast themselves into Trim and Drogheda; while the marquis retired to Kilkenny with some shattered remains of his army. Fifteen hundred private soldiers, and three hundred officers were made prisoners; about six hundred slain; many of these, to the disgrace of the conquerors, when they had accepted quarter and laid down their arms.

SUCH was the event of this enterprize against Dublin, an event naturally to be expected from a general, controuled in his authority, an army, weak and unprovided, composed of discordant parts; the officers faithless, negligent, and ignorant, countenanced in their disobedience by the commissioners of trust; the men undisciplined, unused to danger, indifferent to the service, and secure of an asylum among their Irish associates, when, on the first alarm of an enemy, they should abandon their leaders. The loss of such men was not so considerable as that of arms and ordnance. And the still more important effects of this disaster, were the dejection of the friends, and exultation of the enemies of the royal cause, the diminution of that reverence which had generally been paid to Ormond, and the fears, jealousies, and complaints industriously propagated by the enemies of the late peace; who imputed the
misfortune

misfortune of the confederates entirely to the marquis, and transmitted the intelligence of his ^{Barlass.} defeat to Rome with the utmost joy and triumph.

* Ormond, himself was not dispirited by this accident. Owen O'Nial had grown disgusted with his new friends, the independents. They had re-^{Carte,}jected his overtures in England; they had formally ^{Orm.}condemned the treaties made with him by Monk ^{vol. II.}and Coote; thus they offended his pride, and con-^{p. 82.}vinced him of the necessity of consulting his security by other measures. He renewed his treaty with the marquis of Ormond; the marquis was solicitous to gain him; the commissioners of trust were rendered more tractable by misfortune; the treaty was carried on with some appearance of success; and it was expected, that O'Nial would soon join the king's lieutenant with six thousand well appointed foot, and five hundred horse. The prospect of such a reinforcement inspired Ormond with hopes of successfully renewing his attempt on Dublin, (especially if any accident should detain the supplies expected from England) and even of reducing the whole kingdom. To confirm him in his hopes of better fortune, when, about a week after the battle of Rathmines, he advanced only with three hundred horse to Drogheda, which as he expected, was invested by Jones, this governor was so alarmed, that he raised the siege precipitately, and retired to Dublin.

But the time was now come, when the ruling powers of England were ready to demonstrate, that if they had so long appeared insensible to the distresses of Ireland, it arose from necessity, from their still

* Soon after the defeat, the marquis wrote to Jones, desiring that he would send a list of the prisoners he had taken. In the pride of his success, the republican governor returned the following laconic answer.

" My Lord,

" Since I routed your army, I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.

" MICHAEL JONES."

still more important concerns in England, from their attention to a momentous cause, which engaged all their faculties, and all their resources. From the moment that their triumph over the royal power was completed, the necessity of reducing Ireland was seriously and sincerely weighed, and motions made in parliament for a powerful army to be sent into this kingdom, for the chastisement of popish rebels, and the relief of their protestant brethren. The opposite interests of the presbyterian and independent parties for some time suspended the design. The first contended for entrusting the Irish expedition to the command of Sir William Waller; the latter were for employing Lambert. The divisions between the parliament and the army raised new obstacles. The revolt of Wales, insurrections, preparations of the Scots to invade England banished all thoughts of an Irish expedition; and, had not the confederates of Ireland been obstinately hardened in their infatuation, had they formed a real and a timely union under the marquis of Ormond, they must have soon expelled every partizan of the English parliament from their country. But a dreadful chastisement was reserved for their pride and bigotry. The progress of Ormond again awakened the parliament to a lively sense of the danger of their cause in Ireland. Waller was no longer considered as a general proper to be employed in this country: Lambert was secretly supplanted by a more powerful competitor. Cromwell was persuaded, that the conduct of an Irish war was not unworthy of his own abilities, and might add to his power and consequence. He contrived, by his intrigues, to be chosen lord lieutenant of Ireland, by an unanimous vote of parliament.

THE preparations for his expedition, the suppression of the levellers, who saw through the design of transporting them into Ireland, and opposed it by violence, the reluctance of many others to serve in Ireland, where their countrymen had hitherto been

been abandoned to distress and famine, and some difficulties in procuring ships, occasioned considerable delays. It began to be questioned whether Cromwell would at all embark. But his armament was at length completed; the late change of affairs, Ludlow, by the action of Rathmines, or the accidents of wind and weather, diverted him from his purpose of invading the southern province; he steered his course to Dublin; and on the fifteenth day of August, landed with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty thousand pounds in money, a formidable train of artillery, and all other necessaries of war.

IN Dublin, he exercised his new authority; re-^{Carte,}gulated all civil and military affairs, offered indem-^{Orms.}nity and protection to all those who would submit^{vol. 11.} to the parliament, an offer readily embraced by ma-^{p. 84.}ny of the bitterest adversaries to the peace and Ormond; and, having committed the care of the city to a new governor, Sir Theophilus Jones, took the field with ten thousand chosen men. Ormond, who was now reduced to act on the defensive, rightly judged that Cromwell would make his first attempt on Drogheda, a frontier town, the most exposed, and of greatest consequence for opening a communication with the northern province. He inspected and repaired the fortifications of this city; committed it to the government of Sir Arthur Aston a catholic officer, distinguished by his gallantry. His garrison was augmented to two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all chosen men, encouraged by the presence of many officers of reputation, and furnished with a full proportion of ammunition and provisions. Such dispositions were deemed sufficient for the security of Drogheda; and, while Ormond retired in expectation of being reinforced by lord Inchiquin, he indulged his hopes that the numbers of the enemy would be speedily diminished by their unsuccessful assault, and by the inconveniences and severities of a siege.

BUT

BUT Cromwell was possessed with that intrepidity and vigor which quickly dissipated these expectations. Disdaining all regular approaches and formal operations of a siege, he summoned the governor to surrender; and on his refusal, thundered against the walls for two days, until he had made a sufficient breach. The assault was given, and his men twice repulsed. In the third attempt, led by Cromwell himself, the town was gained. Quarter had been promised to all those who should lay down their arms; a promise observed until all resistance was at an end. But the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell, with an internal calmness and deliberation, resolved by one effectual execution to terrify the whole Irish party. He issued his fatal orders, that the garrison should be put to the sword. His soldiers, many of them with reluctance, butchered their prisoners. The governor, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by the cowardice of some of their troops, were massacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumstance of horror. A number of ecclesiastics was found within the walls; and Cromwell, as if immediately commissioned to execute divine vengeance on these ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpless wretches. Some few of the garrison contrived to escape in disguise. Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed by carnage; and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes.

Borlase.

Carte.
ut Supra.

THIS execrable policy had the intended effect. The garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, in their consternation, neglected the orders of the marquis of Ormond to burn these towns, and demolish the fortifications; so that they were immediately possessed by the enemy. Venables was detached into the province of Ulster. He soon reduced Carrigford: Newry was surrendered: in marching against Lisburne,

Lisburne, he was attacked, and exposed to some danger, but fortunately extricated himself, and was received into the town without resistance. Belfast was surrendered upon articles, in four days after his approach; Colerain was betrayed to Sir Charles Coote, who drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Downe and Antrim, and reduced the whole Country except the castle of Carricfergus.

DURING this rapid progress, the marquis of Ormond, in all the mortification of a discomfited general kept himself retired, at the head of fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, most of them new raised levies, and many of suspected faith. He, indeed, expected to be reinforced both by lord Inchiquin and lord Ardes; but he had neither money nor provisions. In the absence of the commissioners of trust, he issued his own warrants for raising both. The commissioners, with unabated insolence, complained of this procedure as an infringement of the articles of peace, and talked of treating with the enemy. The only measure now to be pursued was, that of putting the confederate forces into garrisons; and, as winter was approaching to prosecute their levies, and discipline their men. But the consent of the commissioners was necessary for forming any new garrisons, and appointing any governors; and these men had neither power nor credit with the cities most likely to be attacked, either to force or persuade them to admit garrisons. Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, peremptorily declared, that they would neither obey orders, nor receive soldiers.

IN this distressed and embarrassed condition, Ormond saw no means of preventing the utter ruin of the king's interests, but his presence in Ireland. While the event of his design on Dublin was uncertain, he had recommended that the king should suspend his purpose of appearing in this kingdom. Charles seemed still disposed to share the common danger with his Irish subjects. His emissary was sent to Ormond to learn his opinion of the propriety of

Carte,
ut supra,
p. 86.

of such an adventure, and to present the marquis with the ensigns of the order of the garter. Ormond returned a melancholy account of the weakness, dejection, and confusion of the royalists; yet still recommended that his majesty should repair to Ireland, as the only measure for preserving any remains of interest and authority in this kingdom. If the progress of the enemy should be thus stopped, it would prove their ruin; to oppose them under such disadvantages, would be honourable to the king, whatever the event might be; and the security of his residence, and the conveniences of a retreat, might still be as great in Ireland as in Jersey. While the embarkation of Cromwell was preparing, Blake was ordered to keep prince Rupert's squadron blocked up in the harbour of Kinsale; when the forces were once landed, the English admiral retired; this squadron, therefore, was destined to attend the king, and convoy him from Jersey; and Ormond exerted all his efforts to furnish the ships with seamen and provisions. But Charles, by this time, listened to new counsels; accepted the propositions of the Scottish commissioners; and chose rather to attempt the recovery of his dominions by hypocrisy and perjury in Scotland, than by any gallant enterprize in Ireland.

p. 82.

In the mean time, Cromwell, with his usual vigour, resolved to seize the advantage of the consternation and dissensions of his enemies, and to proceed in his operations notwithstanding the advanced season of the year. He had his correspondencies in Munster, his secret partizans in the cities and forts possessed by the Irish, and now marched with nine thousand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of his army; and the country people assured of protection, and made to believe that they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, crowded to his camp with provisions, for which they immediately received the full value. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferior note were at once surrendered; and, on the first day of October, he

sat

sat down before Wexford. The citizens had hitherto neglected all means of defence, and obstinately refused to admit any troops. In their present terror, which was artfully enflamed by those who held intelligence with Cromwell, they first proposed to open their gates to the enemy; at the urgent instances of the marquis of Ormond, they at length deigned to accept of succours; yet, with a fanaticism not peculiar to popery, they continued in their extremity to reject the assistance of heretics, and demanded a garrison composed entirely of the faithful. Ormond was by this time considerably strengthened; he, therefore, contrived to throw fifteen hundred catholic troops into Wexford; and, at the requisition of the magistrates, five hundred more. Having thus provided for the security of the city, he retired with the remains of his army, and arrived securely at Ross, though an attempt had been made to intercept him by a party under the command of Michael Jones.

BUT all the provisions made for the defence of Wexford, could not secure it from secret treachery. One Stafford governor of the castle, had been suspected by Ormond; but, as he had the merit of being a catholic, the commissioners of trust would not consent to remove him. No sooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play, when this man admitted his soldiers into the castle upon conditions. The citizens were suddenly confounded at sight of his colours waving on the battlements, and their own cannon pointed against the town. In the first tumult of terror and consternation, they sent commissioners to treat with the enemy; but the townsmen were impatient of delay; the soldiers ran tumultuously from the walls; every man consulted only his own safety, and thus were all destroyed. The enemy gained the city without farther resistance, and proceeded to put all to the sword who were found in arms, with an execution as horribly deliberate as that of Drogheda. Hence Cromwell

proceeded to lay siege to Ross, a town situated on the river Barrow, and more considerable for navigation than that of Wexford. At the same time he detached a strong party under the command of Iretton, to invest Duncannon. Such was the general consternation, occasioned by the progress and severities of Cromwell, that the citizens of Waterford, though nearly interested in the defence of this fort, refused to supply it with provisions, and seemed ready to submit on the first appearance of an enemy; while the commissioners of trust, seated at Kilkenny in all the futile pomp of authority, began to tremble for their security, and were scarcely restrained from flying to some place more inaccessible to the parliamentarians. To confirm these terrors, the town of Ross was immediately surrendered upon articles.

THE fort of Duncannon made a more honorable resistance: and so considerably had the victorious army been reduced by the severity of the season, in a country at this time unfriendly to English constitutions, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was sent from Dublin, and had been some time expected by Cromwell. Lord Inchiquin was informed of the march of these forces; and, with consent of Ormond and the commissioners of trust, resolved to intercept them. In this attempt he was foiled and defeated. Yet Wogan, the officer who commanded in Duncannon, continued to make a brave defence. By the assistance and encouragement of lord Castlehaven, he made a sally with such vigor and success, that the enemy at once raised the siege, not without some confusion. On retiring to their main body, they found the general transporting his troops to the county of Kilkenny, by a bridge of boats constructed on the Barrow, a device utterly strange and astonishing to the rude Irish. Ormond, who had concluded his accommodation with Owen O'Nial, and already received part of his forces, made some preparations for disputing the passage of the river; but

Castle-
haven's
Memoirs.

Borlase.

but Cromwell, superior in vigilance and expedition, as well as numbers, had already transported his army, and obliged the marquis to retire gradually to the city of Kilkenny. Here he found the rest of ^{Carte,} the northern Irish forces ready to receive his commands. The presence of their favorite general was still wanting; for O'Nial now laboured under a grievous malady, which soon after put a period to his life*. So powerful a reinforcement, however, encouraged Ormond to the design of meeting the enemy in the field.

He represented to his soldiers the necessity of fighting, in order to enlarge their quarters, and the glory of making one brave effort for their country, instead of perishing ignobly by famine. He demanded an explicit declaration of their sentiments: they declared unanimously for battle: he issued from Kilkenny in search of the enemy; but Cromwell, who had advanced within five miles of this city, and reduced the fort of Knocktopher, passed suddenly with all his army over the Sure, and marched to invest Waterford. This city, with the usual obstinacy of popish corporations, had disdainfully rejected the assistance of lord Castlehaven, who was sent with some troops to provide for their security, as well as that of the neighbouring fort of Passage, over-against Duncannon. But the approach of a bloody enemy rendered them more tractable. While Inchiquin was detached to recover Carrick, which Cromwell had surprised in his march, Ormond hastened to the defence of Waterford. The citizens accepted a reinforcement of fifteen hundred Ulster troops, under their commander Ferral, all immaculate in the faith, without any mixture of heretical depravity; and the marquis was on the point of returning to Carrick, in full confidence that his forces

* The Irish did him the honor frequently paid to great personages, of discovering something extraordinary in his sickness and death. They were ascribed to poison conveyed by a fatal present of a pair of russet boots.

forces were already masters of the town, when he received intelligence that they had failed in their attempt, and retired to Clonmel. With the few troops he had left, he sought the same place, by an indirect and tedious march, through a country filled with terror, the inhabitants collecting their wretched effects, abandoning their habitations; peasants, citizens, women, children, all flying different ways, to find some shelter from the English army.

Carte,
ut sup.
p. 99—
104.

THIS consternation was increased by the reduction of Passage fort. The citizens of Waterford now declared, that unless they were instantly supplied with additional troops and provisions, they could make no resistance. Though the commissioners of trust sat in useless state at Kilkenny, without contributing to the public service, or concurring in any measures for relieving the distresses of the soldiery, yet Ormond contrived to march once more to Waterford, and to strengthen the garrison with a new reinforcement. He had the gratification of discovering the enemy in some terror at his approach, and raising the siege with evident marks of confusion. But when he proposed to fall on the rear of an army wasted by fatigue and sickness, and mortified by their present disappointment, the insolence of the citizens revived; they now considered his soldiers as an useless and oppressive burden, and refused to supply boats for ferrying them over the river, until the opportunity of annoying the enemy was lost.

THE marquis, on his return to Clonmel, found himself involved in new vexations and disappointments. Antrim was detected in labouring to corrupt his soldiers, and secretly to enflame that spirit of insolence and disobedience which had already been discovered in the corporate towns. He had forged articles of agreement between Michael Jones and Inchiquin, whereby this lord engaged to betray the royalists. The forgery was detected and confessed. What was still more afflicting, several designs formed in Munster

Munster against the king's cause, though hitherto defeated by Inchiquin, were now on the point of final success. Cromwell, before his departure from London, had learned that lord Broghill intended to repair to the king and attend him into Ireland. He surprised this lord by a visit; informed him, that his designs were no secret to the council of state; terrified him with the prospect of immediate imprisonment; promised, that if he would engage in the service of the common-wealth, no disagreeable oaths should be imposed on him; that he should draw his sword only against the Irish, and be invested with an honorable command. Broghill readily complied, arrived in Ireland about the end of October, raised a troop for the service of Cromwell, and practised secretly and successfully with the Munster protestants. These men soon repented of their unnatural conjunction with the confederate Irish; and those among them, who had not already determined to forsake their present service, were easily seduced. In a moment all the chief garrisons of Munster declared for Cromwell; who thus, having first reduced Dungarvan, found commodious quarters for his harassed and distempered forces, without conducting them by a tedious march to Dublin.

THIS sudden defection, in a juncture so critical, when the distresses of Cromwell, from the severity of the season; the sickness of his army, and scarcity of provisions, had raised men's spirits, and inspired them with favorable hopes, dissolved the whole frame of the royal party, and extinguished all remains of confidence between the English and Irish, who were originally united by the principle of obedience and submission to their leaders, not incorporated by inclination and affection. Ormond was now obliged to give his troops some respite. He represented to the commissioners of trust the necessity of quartering them in the cities, from whence they might be readily collected in the spring. But, except Kilkenny and Clonmel, none of these cities could

could be persuaded to admit them. The magistrates of Waterford even refused his few troops a passage through their city to succour Ferral, who had failed in his attempt to recover the fort of Passage, and was seen flying in disorder; so that half the party was cut to pieces before he could appear, and deter the enemy from their pursuit. He proposed to renew the attack of this fort, if his forces were but permitted to take their quarters under the walls in huts, where they should not be burdensome to the city, but depend on the country for subsistence: but this proposal was rejected; and so insolent were these burghers, so obedient to the clergy, and so infected by the malicious suggestions of their faction, that it was proposed in their council to seize the person of the lord lieutenant, and fall on all his adherents. The proposal, indeed, was rejected, but without any reprehension.

THE only part now left for Ormond, was to dismiss his forces to seek shelter and subsistence wherever they were most likely to procure them. Those of Connaught retired to their own province; lord Dillon disposed his men in Meath, and the neighbourhood of Athlone; lord Inehiquin, with that part of the Munster army which had not yet deserted, gained the County of Clare. Daniel O'Nial, who, as a native of Ulster, and nephew to Owen, was acceptable to the northern Irish, and, as a protestant, unexceptionable to the Scots, was sent with two thousand men to assist lord Ardes and Sir George Monroe in recovery of those places lately lost in the counties of Down and Antrim. After a tedious march, he found these commanders routed by Sir Charles Coote, Carricfergus surrendered, and the whole northern province in the hands of the parliamentarians except Charlemont and Enniskillen.

To what hath been already observed of that intolerance and bigotry which appeared in several of the cities, it seems scarcely necessary to add, that they were under the dominion of the most turbulent and refractory

refractory of the Irish ecclesiastics. The consequence of such men revived with the public misfortunes. These, with an ignorant and vulgar malignity, they imputed to the misconduct of their governors, and laboured to infuse their illiberal prejudices into the minds of all those who listened to their insinuations. They were assisted by the marquis of Antrim, who still aspired to the station of chief governor, and was indefatigable in his endeavors to render Ormond odious to the people, and obnoxious to the king. A general discontent, suspicions, jealousies, murmurs, were the natural consequence of such practices. And the clergy now affected a solicitude to allay those disorders, which they themselves had excited. About twenty of their bishops assembled voluntarily at Clonmacnoise, on the banks of the Shannon, to deliberate on the state of the nation. The whole Irish party was anxious for the event of this self-appointed council, and looked for nothing less important than a violent protestation against the government of Ormond. Happily the temper of one of their bishops, Heber Mac Mahon, the Romish prelate of Clogher, disappointed these expectations. From the time of the accommodation between Ormond and Owen O'Neal, in which Mac Mahon had been instrumental, the marquis frequently conversed with him on public affairs, and inspired him with an high opinion of his talents for government, and his zeal for the interests of Ireland. With these sentiments he entered the assembly of his brethren, where he had the consequence naturally derived from superior abilities. He silenced the factious, he encouraged the moderate, he defeated all the secret practices of Antrim; and, at length, with difficulty, prevailed on the prelates to declare, by a formal instrument, that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, to express their detestation of all odious distinctions and animosities between old Irish, English, and Scottish royalists,

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p. 105.

royalists, and their resolution of punishing all the clergy who should be found to encourage them.

Belling. Vind. cap. 24. But these declarations did not operate on the public disorders with any considerable effect. What the factious clergy could not venture to declare in full assembly, was secretly whispered and propagated. A people irritated by the galling burden of contribution and assessment, provoked by disappointments and weary of a declining cause, readily listened to those who taught them to ascribe the effects of their own perfidy and disobedience to the misconduct of the king's governor. Some of their clergy, more particularly devoted to the nuncio and his principles, did not scruple to insinuate, that if their countrymen must accept of an heretical administration, they might as well submit to Cromwell as to Ormond; and some were said to have even offered public prayers for the success of the republican general. The marquis, conscious of his own rectitude and zeal, was provoked at such ingratitude. He desired the king's permission to retire from Ireland; the king consented that he should withdraw himself, when the necessity became unavoidable. But as his treaty with the Scots was to produce a diversion in England, which might have an happy effect upon his Irish interests, the lieutenant was still to struggle with his difficulties. He addressed himself to the commissioners of trust. He demanded the reason of those dissatisfactions, by which the people had been seduced from their obedience, and abandoned all thoughts of union and defence. The commissioners recommended, that the several counties should be directed to send agents to Kilkenny, to represent their grievances, and to propose means for their relief; an expedient suggested by those who were secret enemies to Ormond, and calculated to enflame, rather than to suppress sedition. Should the marquis oppose it, he must be reproached with a consciousness of guilt, and reluctance to hear,

or

or to believe the people. The agents were suffered to assemble. They menaced, they clamored, they spread their slanders; but when they attempted to form a remonstrance, they could find no grievances to compose it. In the midst of their futile deliberations, they were alarmed at the approach of Cromwell; fled to Ennis, and there found it equally difficult to frame their remonstrance. Borlase.

CROMWELL had advanced in a dreary season, not prepared for a regular siege, but relying on the promises of an officer called Tickle, that he would betray the city of Kilkenny into his hands. The plot was discovered, and the agent executed. Ormond, at the head of a little troop, composed of his friends and domestics, so animated the citizens, and displayed such an appearance of defence, that the enemy retired; and the custody of the city and adjacent country was entrusted to lord Castlehaven, with a body of twelve hundred men. But the fate of Kilkenny was but suspended. Cromwell, sensible that his presence must speedily be demanded in England, and that the Irish, who wanted provisions, must be particularly distressed by an early campaign, took the field about the end of February. Fatigue and sickness had considerably diminished his English forces. But the revolt of the Munster garrisons furnished him with soldiers inured to the climate, and habituated to the severities of an Irish war. One part of his army he entrusted to Ireton; and each commander reduced several places in his march. They met at Callan, which was instantly taken. At Gouran they received an additional reinforcement, commanded by colonel Hewson, now governor of Dublin; and thus they were enabled to invest Kilkenny with a considerable army.

A PLAGUE, by which most parts of Ireland had Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 114. been infested, raged particularly in this city, obliged Castlehaven to retire, and reduced the garrison to about four hundred and fifty. With this body

A. D.
1650.

Sir Walter Butler made a brave defence and repelled the assaults of the besiegers with such spirit and success, that Cromwell despairing to gain the town with that expedition which his affairs required, began to meditate a retreat, when the mayor and citizens invited him to stay, and promised to receive him into their town. His assaults were renewed, and again repelled. But a weak and sickly garrison, every moment in danger of being betrayed, was soon obliged to capitulate. They surrendered the city and castle upon honorable terms; and were applauded by Cromwell for their defence.

FROM KILKENAY Cromwell proceeded to invest Clonmel, and here met with a still more obstinate resistance. Hugh O'Neil, a northern officer, with twelve hundred of his provincials, maintained the town with such valor, that in the first assault two thousand of the besiegers were lost; and Cromwell determined rather to starve, than force the city to submission. Harassed and enfeebled by delay, he made the most pressing instances to Lord Broghill to hasten to his assistance. On the other hand, Ormond laboured indefatigably to succour the garrison. Notwithstanding the infatuated obstinacy of the commissioners of trust, who defeated all his attempts, he prevailed on Lord Roche, a person of considerable power in the South, to collect a body of troops for the relief of Clonmel: but these were encountered and defeated by Lord Broghill. The Romish bishop of Ross who had been particularly active in raising and animating these unfortunate troops, was taken prisoner in the engagement. A man so distinguished in his opposition to the parliamentarians could expect no mercy; Broghill, however, promised to spare his life on condition that he should use his spiritual authority with the garrison of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose he was conducted to the fort; but the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear

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of

of death, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution. His enemies could discover nothing in this conduct but insolence and obstinacy, for he was a papist and a prelate.

In the mean time, Cromwell was repeatedly called into England, where the alarm of a Scottish invasion rendered his presence absolutely necessary. But his reputation must be considerably impaired, should he abandon his present enterprize; he, therefore, continued to invest Cloamell. After a brave defence of two months, the garrison found their ammunition and provisions totally exhausted, without any prospect of relief. Hugh O'Nial withdrew secretly with his forces, and conducted them to Waterford; while the townsmen treated with the besiegers, and were permitted to surrender the city upon honorable terms. Cromwell now resigned his army to the care of Ireton, and embarked for England.

C H A P. II.

State of Ireland on the departure of Cromwell, . . . Attempt to recover Ulster from the parliamentarians . . . Defeat and death of Heber Mac Mahon . . . Limerick refuses to receive a garrison from Ormond . . . He applies to the clergy . . . Their factious and insidious conduct . . . Ormond threatens to retire from the kingdom . . . The nobility alarmed . . . The citizens of Limerick relent . . . They invite Ormond to their town . . . He is excluded by a tumult . . . Traded by the clergy . . . Their assembly at Jamestown . . . They require Ormond to depart from the kingdom . . . Their declaration against his government . . . Their excommunication of all his party . . . Progress of the parliamentarians . . . Irish prelates suspend, but refuse to revoke their excommunication . . . They are enflamed by the king's declaration from Scotland . . . Ormond's propositions to the commissioners of trust . . . New general assembly, . . . influenced by the clergy . . . Ormond retires to France . . . Marquis of Clanricarde lord deputy . . . Attempt on Limerick defeated . . . Irish Clergy disposed to a treaty with the parliamentarians . . . They are intimidated, . . . yet still averse to the king's authority . . . Their agent sent to the duke of Lorraine . . . Occasion, progress, and event of the transactions with this prince . . . Ireton prepares for the siege of Limerick, crosses the Shannon: . . . and invests the city . . . Valour of Henry O'Nial . . . Lord Muskerry marches to the relief of Limerick, . . . is defeated by lord Broghill . . . Limerick betrayed to the besiegers. Severe executions . . . Ungenerous treatment of Henry O'Nial . . . Death of Ireton . . . Ludlow prepares for a new campaign . . . General consternation . . . The clergy still insolent . . . Galway surrendered, . . . Extreme distress of Clanricarde . . . He accepts terms, . . . and departs from the kingdom . . . Acts for distribution of lands in Ireland . . . Trials of Irish rebels . . . Sir Phelim O'Nial seized . . .

His

His trial and execution. . . . Dispositions of the forfeited lands. . . . Oliver proclaimed lord protector in Ireland. . . . Henry Cromwell sent into Ireland. . . . Fleetwood lord deputy. . . . succeeded by Henry Cromwell. . . . His character and conduct. . . . He is created lord lieutenant on the accession of his brother Richard. . . . He resigns his office on the restoration of the rump-parliament. . . . Designs and proceedings of the royalists. . . . Their leaders. . . . Their success. . . . Convention of estates. . . . The king proclaimed in Ireland.

ALTHOUGH the faction and obstinacy of the Irish in opposing every reasonable provision for defence, had facilitated the progress of Cromwell; and, although he had reduced several places of importance, yet a great part of the kingdom was still free from the power of the parliamentarians. The province of Connaught was entirely possessed ^{Barlow} by the catholics; Waterford, Limerick, Galway, were in their hands, which might be made so strong, as to fear no force that Ireton could command, and were so situated for receiving succours by sea, that, if well supplied, they might maintain a war against the whole kingdom. They had the forts of Duncannon and Sligo, the castles of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and Nenagh. They could readily collect forces in number more than double of their enemies. But they had neither union, order, nor resolution.

DURING the campaign of Cromwell, an attempt was made to recover Ulster from the parliamentarians, by a conjunction of the northern Irish with the British royalists of this province, under the command of the marquis of Clanricarde. The Irish refused to follow any leader but one of their own election; the British were persuaded by Antrim, that designs were formed to extirpate them, and refused to concur with the Irish, whom they easily suspected of the basest purposes; thus, was the design defeated.

Ormond,

Ormond, however, judged it necessary to comply with the northern catholics, and permitted them to elect a general in the place of Owen O'Nial. Their election fell on Mac Mahon, the prelate of Clogher, a man, who by his ecclesiastical authority could collect, but was utterly unfit to command an army. The consequences were such as might be expected from a choice so injudicious. The bishop, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, ventured, with inferior numbers, to encounter Sir Charles Coote near Letterkenny. In the action he displayed an intrepidity suited to his new character; but his army was defeated with considerable slaughter. In the pursuit, he had the misfortune of being taken prisoner, and was soon after executed by order of the English parliament. The victors proceeded to lay siege to Charlemont, which surrendered after a brave defence; Enniskillen had been already given up to Coote; and thus he had the honor of reducing the whole northern province.

ORMOND, in the mean time, patiently contending with his difficulties, formed a scheme for prosecuting the war with vigor and effect. He cast his eyes on Limerick, a place of the utmost consequence; and which, probably, would be soon attempted by the parliament forces. Could he prevail on this city to receive a garrison, he had no doubt of securing it; and, by the countenance of such a station, and the convenience of the river Shannon, to find quarters for his forces, to raise contributions for their support, to discipline and recruit his army, so as to be enabled by spring to meet the enemy in the field. He went to Limerick; he represented to the citizens the absolute necessity of their receiving fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, not only for their own security but the preservation of the kingdom: the citizens rejected his proposal.

Borlase,

ORMOND imputed this alarming obstinacy to the true cause, the malignant practices of those clergy and their partizans, who from their opposition to the

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the peace, had uniformly persevered in distressing and traducing his government, exulting in his misfortunes, enflaming the general discontent, and artfully encreasing the dejection and terror which drove men daily to consult their private security, by making compositions with the enemy. By advice of the commissioners of trust, he condescended to expostulate with the clergy. He summoned twenty-four of their bishops to attend him at Limerick, that he might confer with them and others of the nobility, and, by their advice and assistance, resolve on some effectual measures for the advancement of the king's service, and preservation of his people. However they really disregarded the king and his service, yet they obeyed the orders of the marquis, and assembled with apparent respect and submission. He conferred freely with them on the distracted state of affairs, represented the danger of that disobedience which the citizens of Limerick had discovered, the ruin that must attend the nation, and the dishonor to himself, should he be contented with the nominal authority, without a real power of a chief governor. If they had conceived any distaste to his administration, he desired they should express their sentiments with freedom, and proposed, that "either they would procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, or recommend some other way, by his quitting the kingdom, how it might be preserved."

With an affected deference they presented him some propositions for removing those discontents which prevailed among the people, most of them loosely expressed, general, and indeterminate. The most precise and important of their demands were that the receiver-general should account for the sums levied since the peace, (a demand evidently calculated to encourage the suspicions they themselves had raised; of some misapplication of the public money), and that a privy council should be composed of the native nobility, spiritual and temporal,

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to.

to assist the chief governor; by which they really meant to establish themselves in the administration of public affairs. Ormond readily consented that all those who had received any money for the King's service should be brought to a strict account; and, as to the second demand, he observed, the King alone could name a privy council; yet, if they would specify what particular acts were necessary to be done by such a council, he promised to qualify persons free from just exceptions, with sufficient powers. They could not object to these answers; they, therefore, published a declaration, that they would endeavour to root out of men's hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions of the marquis, and the present government, desiring his further directions, and promising the utmost care and industry on their part.

It was natural to expect that such a declaration must have a favorable influence on the citizens of Limerick. Some of the bishops undertook to persuade them to receive a garrison. Ormond himself deigned to practice with their magistrates and principal leaders. But his conciliating address was secretly counteracted. They now refused to treat him with those forms of respect due to his station. The commanders of the city guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted to him those they had received. No officer could gain admittance to him but by licence of the chief magistrate. A catholic lord, who served in his army, was committed to prison, for presuming, by his order, to quarter a few soldiers within the liberties of the city. Exasperated at such insults, Ormond retired, in disdain, to Loughrea, whither he was followed by the bishops.

Nor was it the least part of his present mortification, that he was obliged to keep terms with these ecclesiastics, who, by their ignorance and presumption, their illiberal artifice and duplicity, disgraced their profession, and became the most despicable of any order of men who ever acquired an influence

in any country. In their private conferences with Ormond, they declared, that all the jealousies of the people arose from their suspicions of Inchiquin and his puritannic forces; and even demanded, that all the English troops should be removed from the kingdom, as the most effectual measure for allaying the general discontent. To Inchiquin they, at the same time, professed the utmost attachment. He was of a noble Irish family; and, therefore, they observed, must be peculiarly dear to the Irish. Should he be invested with the government, he would be readily obeyed, and soon grow strong enough to oppose the enemy, and recover his country. These insinuations were communicated by these noblemen to each other, and only served to convince them that the clergy wished to get rid of both, and to make themselves absolute masters of the kingdom.

EVERY day afforded some occasion of discover-^{Carte,} ing the hypocrisy of their public professions. The ^{Orm.} earl of Castlehaven, who had been appointed to ^{vol. II.} command in Leinster, represented that the royal in- ^{p. 121.}terests in this province were in danger of immediate ruin by the Irish inhabitants, who submitted in great numbers to the enemy, and, by their contributions, furnished the greatest part of their subsistence. It was proposed, that the bishops should issue their excommunication against those who were guilty of such compliances. But this engine of their authority was to be reserved for more factious purposes; they could not be prevailed on to employ it in the king's service. Ormond, wearied by their insolent and insidious conduct, declared his resolution of making use of the licence he had received from the king, and withdrawing himself and his authority from Ireland. However acceptable his departure might be to the clergy, yet the full power to which they aspired was not yet completely secured. The nominal authority of chief governor, they wished to be deposited with some one of their creatures,

but were not agreed upon the person most likely to serve their purposes. The nobility and commissioners of trust were terrified at the thoughts of anarchy and public confusion; and all united in endeavoring to detain the marquis. However indulgently they spake of the disobedience of Limerick, yet they promised to renew their instances with the citizens, and to reduce them to a just submission. The citizens were alarmed at the approach of some parties of the enemy; they seemed to relent; they no longer objected to accept a garrison; they required only that it should consist of such troops, and be commanded by such officers as they should chuse; that they should be quartered without the walls, and demand no subsistence from the city. Propositions were received from the parliamentary general, offering them a free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates, churches, and church-livings, a free trade and commerce, without any garrison to be imposed on them, provided that they would allow his forces to march through their city into the county of Clare. The citizens rejected these propositions; and thus seemed to return gradually to a better temper.

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Berlase.

ORMOND, encouraged by these promising appearances, suspended his purpose of embarking, and drew his few forces to Clare, within twelve miles of Limerick. Here he received a respectful invitation from the magistrates of this city, that he would honor Limerick with a visit, and regulate the garrison. He consented, on condition of being received with the honors due to his station, and quarters being provided for his guards. But when he had advanced near the walls, he suddenly received intelligence, that a seditious friar, called Wolfe, had raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance, and gaining the keys, either by force or connivance, had set a guard on the gates, while other lawless incendiaries rifled the magazines, disposing of the corn at their pleasure. The bishops pretended

pretended to condemn these outrages, but refused to excommunicate the authors. They had even the presumption to intercede with Ormond for an officer of the name of O'Brian, who took a principal part in the tumult, and desired not only that he might be pardoned, but employed.

This incorrigible obstinacy and disobedience of Limerick, rendered it impossible for the marquis either to collect an army, or to keep it in a body, on either side of the Shannon. To complete his distress, the example of this city was soon followed by that of Galway, which refused to admit any garrison but such as should be appointed and commanded by the magistrates. Should the enemy pass the river, or pierce into Connaught by any other way, Ormond could have no retreat. The conduct of the disobedient cities demonstrated a purpose either of yielding to the enemy at once, or of erecting an authority independent of the king. The refractory clergy were evidently possessed with this latter design. They had already petitioned several catholic powers for protection; they continued to inveigh with bitterness and malice against the administration of Ormond; and he suspected, not without reason, that the least prospect of advantage might induce some of their partizans to betray him to the enemy. In circumstances so desperate, he naturally resumed his purpose of retiring from the kingdom.

No sooner had this purpose been intimated, when the clergy and their faction redoubled their clamors. Among other proofs of Ormond's inviolable attachment to the royal cause, he had formerly, rejected their own insidious overtures of placing him on the throne of Ireland, provided he would unite with the nuncio and embrace their religion. Yet now they imputed his resolution of retiring to a secret agreement with the parliamentarians. Not yet satisfied with the effect of such insinuations on the ignorant and bigotted, in the fulness of their hopes, and extravagance of their pride, they resolved on
more

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more direct measures for repouncing the king's authority, and the government of his lieutenant.

Borlase. A LETTER signed by the popish archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, informed the marquis, that in the present melancholy state of public affairs, they and their brethren, the prelates of Ireland, had resolved to assemble at a place called James-town, to devise some measures for the defence of their religion, and the security of the nation. In a style sufficiently imperious, they declared their readiness to receive any proposals from the marquis, and did not want "willingness to prepare a good answer." The marquis replied, by a severe reprehension of their former conduct, to which he ascribed all the public calamities, and the destructive progress, of the enemy, refusing to make any new proposals, yet allowing their convention, and expressing his wishes that it might be attended by some happy consequences. Instead of receiving overtures, they were thus obliged to make them; and they were quickly made in a strain of such insolence, as could not be expected even from these insolent ecclesiastics. They required that his excellency should speedily repair to the king, leaving his authority "in the hands" of some person faithful to his majesty, and trusty "to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow."

It seems natural to expect, that an address of such a nature, framed by such men, and presented with such careless presumption, would have excited the indignation of the sensible and moderate, and exposed the authors to the severest punishment. But the ignorance of the vulgar had stamped such a degree of reverence and authority on the ecclesiastical character, that the dictates of the meanest of this order were superior to all power civil and military. It was known, that when a regiment was detached on some particular service, a seditious friar, seizing the colours, had pronounced eternal perdition on those who should presume to march; and

and that the whole body, at his word, cast down their arms, and dispersed to their several habitations. Even those who were most zealous for the king and most offended at the violence of their clergy, were yet so tender of their immunities, granted in the darkest periods of popery, and now revived in their full extent, that they could not harbour a thought so profane, as that of inflicting punishment on a churchman by any but an ecclesiastical authority. So that, if Ormond had attempted to correct the insolence of these prelates, or any other of the clerical faction, he must have not only determined by his single judgment, but executed his determination with his own hand. No protestant officer was left about him, but the captain of his guard. He was, therefore, obliged to condescension and forbearance: at the desire of the commissioners of trust, he summoned the bishops to a conference; they refused to attend him; he expostulated with their agents, and endeavoured to convince them of the dangerous and ruinous nature of the proposition they had made. Unable entirely to suppress his disdain of a contemptible faction, he now declared that he would not remove from the kingdom until forced by inevitable necessity.

BUT the bishops were not to be dissuaded or deterred from their purpose. Without waiting any answer to their address, and even before it was presented, they had already drawn up, and now published an instrument, entitled, "A declaration of the prelates and dignitaries of the secular and regular clergy, against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the marquis of Ormond; for the misgovernment of the subjects, the ill conduct of the army, and the violation of the peace." In this declaration they magnified their own zeal and services, particularly in procuring vast sums of money for maintenance of the king's cause. They complained of abuses in the expenditure of these sums; of the improvidence and ill conduct of Ormond, particularly

particularly in the fatal action of Rathmines; of his partiality to protestants, his aversion to the catholic religion, his cruel treatment of its professors and clergy, and his misrepresentations to the king; they threatened to present articles of accusation against him to his majesty, and enjoined the people to obey no orders but those of the congregation of clergy, until a general assembly should be convened. To give this edict greater weight, it was attended with a solemn sentence of excommunication, fulminated against all those who should adhere to the lord lieutenant, or give him subsidy, contribution or obedience.

Carte,
Orm.
Borlase.

THE folly, the iniquity and ingratitude of this proceeding, appear more strongly, when we consider the progress of the parliamentary forces, and the present situation of the marquis of Ormond. Immediately after the surrender of Clonmel, Treacohan, a fort of great consequence, on account of the quantity of stores and artillery there deposited, was reduced, notwithstanding a brave attempt made by lord Castlehaven to relieve it. Huson, the noted republican, had taken Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other places; Carlow was invested and reduced; Waterford was surrendered by Preston; the strong fort of Duncannon soon shared the same fate. Ireton, not yet prepared for the siege of Limerick, detached Ingoldshy and Sir Hardress Waller to block it up at a distance, who gained some advantages over detached parties of the Irish, and some adjacent forts. While the parliamentarians ranged over the adjacent country, Ormond, with a few troops, and those hasty levies, which particular districts supplied by what were called their *risings-out*, contended at once with famine and a victorious enemy, and made the most desperate efforts to prevent them from passing the Shannon. In the mean time, Ireton and Sir Charles Coote advanced towards Athlone, and thus alarmed the Irish with the apprehensions of losing the whole western province

province. Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppose them, but the sentence of excommunication was published at the head of his troops, so as to discharge them from all obedience to government. The commissioners of trust, the nobility, the more moderate of the clergy, some who repented of their violences, and would now retract them, all made the most pressing instances to the congregation, remonstrated, expostulated, conjured them in this dangerous juncture to support the present government, and not to abandon their country to an enemy who sought their utter extirpation. But neither danger, nor entreaty, nor the most obvious suggestions of duty or policy, could induce these prelates to revoke the sentence of excommunication. In their insatuated pride, they consented only with a stately reluctance to suspend it, during the expedition made for the relief of Athlone. They proceeded to levy forces by their own authority, so that Ormond had now a new enemy to contend with; and, though their sanguine hopes were in a great measure disappointed, and some of their parties defeated, yet they still continued their seditious clamors, invoking the full weight of divine wrath upon the people, for contempt of their own censures and those of the nuncio, to which they impudently ascribed all the calamities of the nation.

A NEW incident served to enflame their violence, and to give some plausible colour to their proceedings. Among other concessions of Charles, he now indulged the fanaticism of the Scots, by his famous declaration, in which he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, declared, that all the bloodshed of the late war was to be charged to his father, expressed a deep sense of his own former prejudices against the cause of God, his repentance for his past life, which had been a course of enmity to God's work; and, among other particulars, his utter abhorrence of the peace concluded by his father with the Irish papists,

papists, and ratified by himself, pronouncing it utterly void, on supposition of the unlawfulness of any peace made with bloody and idolatrous rebels.

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Borlase.

Nothing could be more convenient for the congregation of prelates, and their purpose of enflaming the people, than this virulent declaration. They imputed it entirely to the representations of the marquis of Ormond. "The king," said they, "hath now withdrawn the authority of his lieutenant; he hath cast the whole Irish nation from his favor and protection. Why should we be bound by a peace which he so solemnly disclaims? Why should we submit to an authority which he, in effect, recalls? Let us remember our oath of association; let us recur to our original confederacy; and, instead of fighting in support of a treaty thus disowned, let us bravely hazard our lives and fortunes to extort more favorable articles from the enemy."

ORMOND well knew the use that must be made of this declaration. He, at first, regarded it, or affected to treat it, as a forgery; but soon received a private letter from the king, acknowledging that he had really subscribed it apologizing for this shameful transaction as the effect of fear and force, insinuating, that it could not be binding in Ireland, as it was done without the concurrence of a privy council, and earnestly pressing him to retire in time from this kingdom. He had hitherto contended without sufficient forces, without any of the provisions necessary for war, against an enemy powerful and well supplied; he was betrayed, harassed, maligned, and insulted. He could no longer support the contest with the king's secret and open enemies. Yet, to leave the factious and refractory without excuse, he addressed himself to the commissioners of trust. He told them, that since the declaration was by undue means obtained from his majesty, he was resolved at all hazards, and by all means, to assert the lawfulness and validity of the late peace, until the king should give some free and unconstrained assurances

assurances of his pleasure ; provided, in the mean time, that the acts of the congregation of prelates should be revoked, or punished as an usurpation on the king's authority ; that all due obedience should be paid to him, and some honorable maintenance secured, to enable him to support his present station, as he was now deprived of all his own fortune.

THE answer of the commissioners plainly discovered, that they were afflicted and scandalized at the exorbitances of the clergy. They expostulated with the prelates, but found them inexorable. They importuned the marquis to wait the result of a new general assembly which must be fired with indignation at the extravagant proceedings of the bishops, and meet with the more determined resolution to controul them. The assembly was convened, but soon appeared too tender and submissive to the ecclesiastics. These men deigned to publish a protestation, that by their proceedings at James-town, they had no purpose to usurp on the king's authority, or the liberty of the people ; graciously confessing, " that it did not belong to their jurisdiction " so to do." The assembly, contented with this protestation, passed no censure on their acts, demanded no security for their future peaceable demeanour. The marquis was justly incensed, and prepared for his departure. Every member of the assembly, not totally infatuated by religious bigotry, was alarmed at his purpose, and shuddered at the horrible consequences of anarchy. They besought him, at least, to delegate the royal authority to some person faithful to the king, and acceptable to the nation. The request was enforced by a respectful address from the assembly. Ormond answered, that he would comply with their desires, when he should first be satisfied, that the person entrusted with the king's authority would be secured from those insults he himself had experienced, and received with a just and honorable submission. As he had rejected a pass from Ireton, it now became necessary to hasten

his departure, lest he might be intercepted by some parliament ships. He, therefore, appointed the marquis of Clanricarde his lord-deputy, with directions to use, or decline the commission, as he should be encouraged, or deterred, by the proceedings of the assembly; and thus, embarking at the port of Galway after a tempestuous and dangerous voyage, he arrived in France.

EVERY consideration of personal interest deterred Clanricarde from engaging in a dangerous and invidious charge; and, in Ormond, he had a striking example of that treatment to which he might be exposed. But, in the ardour of loyalty, he was solicitous to preserve some appearance of the king's authority in Ireland, to protect the remains of his sincere adherents, and, by continuing the war, even under manifold disadvantages, and without any hopes of final success, to make a diversion in favor of the royal party in England. He, was therefore, satisfied to accept the government, provided he might be assured of due obedience. The general assembly had already engaged to obey the person to whom the lord lieutenant should delegate his authority. But the engagement was not expressed with sufficient precision, so as to found this obedience on the principle of loyalty and duty to the king. The bishops opposed any explanation, or any clause which might convey a reflection on their former conduct. They offered to bind themselves by a solemn oath, to pay as great obedience to Clanricarde, as any catholic clergy in catholic times had ever paid to a catholic governor. The assembly was satisfied with this declaration, but Clanricarde dreaded the insidiousness of these ecclesiastics; he required expressions more determined and explicit.

An instrument was at length prepared and presented, in which the assembly declared, that "the lords spiritual and temporal, gentry, or people, clergy, or laity, shall not attempt to do any act to discharge the people from yielding due obedience

“ence to his majesty’s authority vested in the marquis of Clanricarde, or any other governor; and, in case of any such act, that no person shall or ought to be led thereby; but, by their disobedience, are subject to the penalties of the laws of the land in force, *and practised in the reign of Henry VII. and other catholic princes.* Yet, by any thing herein contained, it is not intended that the nation shall recede from the late peace, or obey any new governor unduly nominated by the king, now in the power of a party of the Scots, and during his present unfree condition.”—The bishops, conscious of their former violences, obliged the assembly to subjoin an explanatory clause, “that by the word *ought*, it was not intended to have any retrospect to any former proceedings of the clergy.”

CLANRICARDE, not yet satisfied, proposed clauses still more explicit; he dreaded some subterfuge couched under the expression relative to *Henry VII. and other catholic princes.* He was assured, that they meant nothing more than a provision for the catholic clergy, who, in cases of treason or felony, had not since these times enjoyed the privileges formerly annexed to their function, but had suffered without degradation or other ceremonies due to churchmen. He was entreated to accept of such declarations as the clergy were willing to subscribe, instead of affording them any pretence for condemning the proceedings of the assembly, and enflaming the people by their protests. He saw a general disposition to submit to the parliamentarians: that the clergy, in their blind zeal for demolishing the royal power, encouraged this disposition: that some immediate union, and the speedy exertion of some authority, were absolutely necessary to prevent the fatal consequences. The assembly was on the point of breaking up in confusion; he, therefore, hesitated no longer: acquiesced in the declaration, defective as it appeared, and declared his acceptance of the government.

Borlase.

THE popish party of Ireland had now a chief governor of their own religion. The protestant royalists were dispersed; some had engaged in the service of the parliamentarians, numbers accepted passes, and retired to foreign countries: lord Inchiquin, and several other protestant officers, had embarked with Ormond; so that their forces were depurated from the defilements of heresy; and, though dispersed in different quarters, and under different commanders, yet, if collected, were by no means inconsiderable. Sir Charles Coote had been disappointed in his attempt upon Athlone. Ireton advanced to Limerick, and demanded that the citizens should receive his troops for their defence. They hesitated and debated; but lord Castlehaven, arriving opportunely with his party, persuaded them to accept his assistance, and shut their gates against the enemy. Ireton could not venture on a formal siege in a season so advanced; he, therefore, retired: so that Connaught remained still in the power of the Irish, together with a considerable part of Munster; and the possession of Limerick, Galway, and Sligo, might still enable them to carry on a war, not without some fair prospect of success.

Castle-
haven's
Memoirs.

Borlase.

BUT that fatal spirit which the nuncio had infused into the clergy and their creatures was still predominant, and defeated all the hopes of Clanricarde. Scarcely had he accepted the government, when some agents arrived from Ireton, and proposed to the assembly to abandon their desperate cause and treat with the parliamentarians, who might grant more favorable conditions to the nation, than to particular persons. The proposition, though at first rejected, yet, by the influence of the clergy, was resumed and supported. Nicholas French, the popish bishop of Ferns, a distinguished partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent opposer of the royal authority, clamoured violently for a treaty. Clanricarde remonstrated, and enlarged on the treachery and the danger of such a measure. Several of the nobility,

nobility, and other leading members of the assembly, expressed their warmest indignation at this forwardness of the clergy to abandon all the king's interests. "It is now evident," said they, "that these churchmen have not been transported to such excesses by a prejudice to the marquis of Ormond, or a zeal for their religion: their purpose is, to withdraw themselves entirely from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their aversion: but these we will defend at every hazard; and when a submission to the enemy can be no longer deferred, we shall not think it necessary to make any stipulations in favor of the secret enemies of our cause. Let these men who oppose the royal authority be excluded from the benefits of our treaty."

THE clergy were unaccustomed to such bold language; they began to fear, that men might be at length awakened to a just indignation at their absurd tyranny. They had an exquisite sensibility of their own danger; and, therefore, deemed it necessary to keep some measures with their opponents. Their opinion was suddenly altered; they concurred with the assembly in opposing any treaty with the enemy; and, when the lord deputy issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons to resort to the quarters of the common enemy, to enlist in their army, or to pay them contributions, the prelates deigned to enforce this act of state, by pronouncing sentence of excommunication on all those who should not pay it strict obedience. Yet, notwithstanding this compliance, they still retained their hatred of Clanricarde, the opposer of all their fantastical projects, and the zealous friend of Ormond; they still whispered the design of reverting to their original confederacy, without regard to the king's authority, or, as one of their order expressed it, "that idol of Dagon, a foolish loyalty." Carte, Ormond, vol. II. and p. 156. They held their secret consultations; they indulged their airy hopes of establishing the papal power,

and their own sovereign authority in Ireland, by the intervention of some foreign prince; and the bishop of Ferns, their most active partizan, was sent to Brussels, to solicit the duke of Lorrain to take their nation and religion under his princely protection.

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Ormond,
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p. 144.—
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BEFORE the departure of the marquis of Ormond, the king, in his extreme necessity, had listened to a proposal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon to this duke for twenty-four thousand pounds. Ormond was directed, if he approved of the contract, to deliver up the fort to persons appointed by the duke, upon receipt of the stipulated sum. But, as Duncannon was threatened with a siege, the security became precarious; difficulties arose about the manner of paying the money; and, after a course of evasion and insincerity, the agents of Lorrain retired, without bringing the treaty to any issue. It was afterwards renewed by lord Taaffe, who arrived at Brussels with letters of credence from the duke of York, and earnestly pressed the duke of Lorrain to support the king's interests in Ireland, offering him the security of any place in the kingdom, for the repayment of such sums as he should advance.

THE duke, to prevent any dispute about the title to his dominions, had married his cousin-german, Nicole, daughter of Henry duke of Lorrain and Bar, and heir-general of these duchies. But, being afterwards captivated by Beatrix de Cusance, widow to the count of Cantecroix, he married her, while the duchess Nicole was still living, and wished to engage the court of Rome to pronounce his first marriage void, and to legitimate his children by his second consort. As his solicitations had hitherto proved ineffectual, he imagined, that by engaging with extraordinary zeal in defence of the catholic cause in Ireland, he might plead so much merit, that the pope must, at length, yield to his desires. Taaffe, who was a forward undertaker, flattered his partiality to the children of the princess of Cantecroix,

croix, and proposed a match between her infant daughter and the duke of York. Lorrain was delighted with the prospect of such an alliance; and, probably, in the progress of the negociation, his views were gradually extended, and his ambition flattered by the hopes of acquiring the sovereignty of Ireland. Whatever were his designs or expectations, he received lord Taafe with particular favor, expressed the warmest zeal for the interest of his countrymen, and furnished him with five thousand pounds to purchase arms and ammunition, which arrived in the bay of Galway, when the assembly deliberated about treating with the parliamentarians, and had no small share in influencing their decision.

TAAFE was astonished at this munificence, which the duke declared was but an earnest of his future favor. He affected the utmost commiseration of the Irish catholics; declared that he was ready, if invited, to appear personally in their defence, with such supplies as would soon recover the kingdom; hinting, at the same time, that he should expect entire obedience, and that he could not consent to act by commission from any person whatever. Taafe could not venture to engage for such conditions. The king might be displeased; the marquis of Ormond, whom he supposed to be still in Ireland, might not consent to resign the power and pre-eminence annexed to his station. On the other hand, the interposition of the duke seemed necessary to rescue his country from destruction. In these difficulties, he deemed it the safer course, to propose that the duke of Lorrain should send some person of distinction into Ireland, to treat with those in authority. Stephen de Hennin Abbé de Saint Catherine was chosen for this purpose, and landed at Galway, while the bishop of Ferns was on his way to Brussels, with a commission from the disaffected clergy to treat with the duke, and to solicit his protection for their unhappy country.

No one could be more acceptable to the clergy and their creatures than this envoy of Lorrain.
Though

Though his letters of credence were addressed to the estates of the kingdom, yet, when he found that Clanricarde was vested with the authority of chief governor, he was too attentive to decorum not to apply immediately to him. To avoid all clamour or censure, the marquis appointed a committee, composed of bishops, nobility, and gentry, to treat with the Abbé, to receive his proposals, and to report them, with their opinion and advice. His proposals were, that the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and successors, with a saving to his majesty's rights, and those of the subjects, should be accepted as protectors of Ireland, and, while there resident, should have the supreme command of the militia, with power of convening general assemblies, and with other appendages of royal authority, until all disbursements were repaid. The committee, utterly regardless of their instructions, debated these proposals among themselves, excluded the more moderate and loyal of their number, admitted others, without consent of the lord deputy with whom they scorned to communicate. Clanricarde complained of this proceeding, as well as of the propositions offered by the envoy so derogatory to the king's honor and authority. The bishops insisted that they should be accepted, as the only means left to preserve the nation. They were desired to subscribe this their advice; they hesitated and refused. The Abbé consented to some qualification of his demands: the marquis declared, that they were still inadmissible. He would not even admit the man who had dishonored his master to an audience of leave; and, by this stately resentment, so intimidated the Abbé, that he consented to advance twenty thousand pounds on the security of Limerick and Galway, and to refer all articles relative to the protectorship to be adjusted by a treaty at Brussels. In consequence of this agreement, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, were commissioned to treat with the duke of Lorrain, in conjunction with lord Taaffe; and expressly instructed to

to carry on their negociation agreeably to the directions they should receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the lord lieutenant.

BUT all such limitations were immediately forgotten. On their arrival at Brussels, they found lord Taase had gone to Paris, to communicate the lord deputy's transactions with the Abbé de Sainte Catherine, and to desire further instructions from the queen and lord lieutenant. French, the turbulent prelate of Ferns, attended the duke of Lorraine, and was graciously received. He was assisted by some other creatures of the disaffected clergy, and some agents sent from the cities not yet reduced. They confidently assured the duke, that they could invest him with the whole power of the kingdom. French inveighed against the agents sent from the lord deputy, their opposition to the nuncio, and the appeal against his excommunication. In a hypocritical strain of sanctified virulence he declared that this excommunication was confirmed in heaven; that all its opposers, however great and exalted in the eye of man, were forsaken of God, and delivered up to Satan. In sincerity and evangelical charity he exhorted them, to make such an agreement with the duke of Lorraine, as would be profitable to their nation, and acceptable to heaven; to prostrate themselves in the name of all the people before his holiness, to supplicate his apostolic benediction, that the light of wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, virtue, grace, success, and the blessing of God might return to them. He assured them that God would never prosper any treaty directed by the deputy, a man excommunicated for many unjust causes; and that the duke, when rightly informed, could never consent to negotiate with agents deriving their authority from a withered and accursed hand.

PLUNKET and Browne received this insidious cant with too great attention. They disclaimed the lord deputy's commission; they pleaded another and

more unlimited authority. In the name of the nation and people of Ireland, they signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was, in effect, invested with the entire sovereignty of the kingdom, by the title of Protector Royal. Plunket, the greater bigot, was at the same time, persuaded by the bishop of Ferns, to sign a petition to the pope, by which in the name of the nation, he professed an entire submission to the holy see, and implored absolution from the nuncio's censures. Browne had the spirit resolutely to refuse his subscription. The name of lord Taaffe was signed in his absence, without his consent or knowledge. The clergy now exulted in the happy progress of their schemes. They entertained their imaginations with the usual airy prospects of a glorious and triumphant church, and a stately hierarchy, protected by a catholic prince. But, whatever were the secret designs of the duke of Lorrain, he soon found that they could not be promoted by any further treaty with the Irish. He received from the lord deputy a formal protest against the unwarrantable proceedings of his agents, so contrary to his instructions, and so derogatory to the king's honor. He had thus, a fair pretence for declining any further treaty; and the king's interests in Ireland soon grew so desperate, that there was nothing left to purchase the assistance of Lorrain, even upon the most reasonable terms.

In the mean time, the expectation of an agreement with this prince transported the Irish clergy to the utmost extravagance. Their synods were convened; they declared the duke of Lorrain protector of their nation; they excommunicated those who should presume to dispute this nomination; they took an oath of secrecy; they resolved, that the prelates of each province should choose two persons to compose a new supreme council, with full powers to transact all civil and military affairs, by the direction, and with the consent of the clergy. They prepared a sentence of excommunication against the marquis
of

of Clanricarde and his adherents, to be published at a convenient time; and this ridiculous usurpation of the whole power and authority of the kingdom, they called a revival of the original confederacy. But they were soon roused from this dream of power and grandeur, to a dreadful sense of danger and calamity.

FROM the tedious and disgusting detail of the presumption and infatuation of these seditious ecclesiastics, we are now to return to the affairs of war, and the progress of the parliamentarians. Ireton having made all provisions for an early campaign, and received some reinforcements from England, resolved to open the campaign by besieging Lime-^{A. D. 1651,}rick. As it was necessary to pierce into Connaught, in order to invest this city on all sides, Sir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo. ^{Carte, Orm. vol. II, p. 154.} The Irish prepared to relieve this place; when Coote, suddenly drawing off his men, passed, with some difficulty, over the Curlew-Mountains, and invested Athlone. Clanricarde, embarrassed as he was by faction and opposition, made some efforts to oppose him; but, before his forces could be collected, Athlone was taken; and Coote, pursuing his advantage, marched against Galway. The deputy was solicitous to defend this important post; he summoned the earl of Castlehaven to his assistance; but scarcely had this lord marched a few miles, with a detachment of four thousand men, when a party, which he had left to defend a pass over the Shannon, suffered themselves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately. His whole army caught the panic, and dispersed with that ease and suddenness usual to the Irish, when indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged, and secure of a retreat among their kinsmen. At the same time an officer called Fennel, who had been stationed at Killaloe, to defend this passage of the Shannon, abandoned his station, either from treachery or cowardice; so that the English burst rapidly into the

the western province; and all provisions being made for the attempt on Limerick, Ireton commenced the siege in form.

Born the citizens and the clergy had promised all submission to the lord deputy; but when he proposed to shut himself up in Limerick and to share their fortune, he was excluded with the same insolence which Ormond had experienced. At the approach of danger indeed, the magistrates deigned to accept some troops, of such number and quality as they chose; and appointed Henry O'Nial, who had so bravely defended Clonmel, to be their nominal governor, reserving all real power to themselves. A constant correspondence was maintained between the besiegers and citizens, by means of those Irish who had compounded and submitted to Ireton. It was industriously suggested, that the independents were by no means uncharitable to popery, or friends to compulsion in matter of religion; and, when the cruel executions of priests and prelates were mentioned, of which every day afforded new instances, these proceedings were imputed entirely to the virulent spirit of the presbyterian party. Such was the influence of these insinuations, and such the divisions and distraction within the walls, that in three days the citizens proposed to surrender. The bishops and clergy well knew, that Ireton would except several persons from the benefit of any articles, and dreaded that they would be made the first victims of his cruelty. They, therefore, opposed all motions for capitulating with particular zeal; while O'Nial exerted himself against the besiegers, with a spirit worthy of the reputation he had already acquired.

Cox,
Borlase.

In the mean time, lord Muskerry alarmed at the danger of Limerick, advanced from Kerry with a strong party to its relief. Lord Broghill was detached to oppose him; and, after a sharp engagement resolutely maintained on each side, Muskerry was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Not-
with-

withstanding this disappointment, Hugh O'Nial continued to make a brave defence, and in several successful sallies slew considerable numbers of the besiegers. Winter now approached; and the severity of the season, and sickness of his army, must soon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprize, when treachery and sedition proved too powerful for the gallantry of O'Nial. His authority had ever been controuled by the magistrates, and of consequence slighted by his officers. Of these a number assembled tumultuously, and resolved to treat with the enemy, without objecting to any exceptions which might be made of particular persons, with respect to quarter or confiscation. The bishops clamoured against the design of sacrificing them to the fury of the enemy, and thundered an excommunication against the authors of such impious counsel; but, in the hour of terror, their spiritual authority was utterly neglected. Fennel, who had yielded the pass of Killaloe, at the head of a seditious rabble of soldiers and citizens, seized two of the principal gates. The chief magistrate protected him from the authority of the governor. He turned the cannon on the town, insisted on capitulating, and sent commissioners to Ireton. The garrison were allowed to lay down their arms, and to march out unmolested, the citizens to remove with their effects; twenty-four persons, clergy, soldiers, and inhabitants were excluded from mercy, and Ireton, now master of the city, executed the severest vengeance on those who had been the most distinguished partizans of the nuncio, and most inveterate opposers of English government. Of all those who had been excepted from mercy, the bishop of Limerick alone escaped. O'Brien, the popish prelate of Emly, was seized and instantly executed. Wolfe, the friar, who had seditiously excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick, now received the just reward of his presumption. With him were led to execution some magistrates, the most turbulent and seditious of the nuncio's faction. Fennel, notwith-

Ludlow's
Memoirs,
vol. I.

notwithstanding his services, was tried for several murders and condemned to death. Geoffry Browne, on his return from Brussels, fell into the hands of an enemy, who little regarded his consequence with the Irish, and suffered by the executioner *. The brave Henry O'Nial had so offended by his defence of the city, and so provoked Ireton by his former gallant behaviour at Clonmel, that the gloomy and intractable republican tried him by a court-martial for a conduct which should have recommended him to the esteem of a soldier. O'Nial pleaded, that he had taken no part in the original conspiracy; that he had been invited into Ireland by his countrymen, and ever acted as a fair and honorable enemy. But Ireton was inexorable; and his pliant court shamefully condemned the Irish general to death. Some of the officers, more generous, expostulated with Ireton, and happily subdued his obstinacy: the cause was re-examined, and the court, with difficulty, consented to spare his life.

Borlase.

GALWAY, the great remaining resource of the Irish, was now summoned to accept the conditions originally

* "He pleaded," saith Ludlow, "that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for, the liberty and religion of his country." "The deputy replied, that Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might, with justice, assert their right and conquest; that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reason; notwithstanding which, they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, and robbed them of their goods, which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased with their money.—That, touching the point of religion, there was a wide difference also between us; we ONLY contending to preserve our natural right therein, WITHOUT IMPOSING OUR OPINIONS UPON OTHER MEN; whereas they would not be contented, unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their imposition, on pain of death." The men of TOLERANT principles, it seems, thought this a FULL ASSERTATION of the prisoner's plea.

originally offered to Limerick; and, in case of any refusal or delay, threatened with the same severities. The citizens, in the first impressions of terror, were ready to treat, when Ireton caught the fatal infection which wasted several parts of Ireland, and died at Limerick. Encouraged by this event, the Irish of Galway grew resolute. They united under the command of general Preston, and addressed themselves to Clanricarde for assistance, promising all obedience to his authority. The marquis attended them in person, and summoned an assembly of nobility, gentry, and prelates, to meet at Galway, and concert measures for defence.

IN the mean time, Ludlow was, for the present, ^{Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I.} entrusted with the command of the English forces, and exerted himself with due vigour to complete the reduction of the Irish. While the depth of winter suspended his operations, he issued orders against supplying the enemy with arms, or other necessaries; he required all persons to withdraw from their quarters, on pain of being treated as enemies; he directed that no quarter should be granted to those who had withdrawn themselves from protection, and joined the Irish since the arrival of general Cromwell. His officers executed these orders with diligence and severity. An universal dismay seized the whole Irish party. Numbers daily submitted, and secured the remains of their property by compositions. A submission was offered in the name of the nation, by an assembly held in Leinster: no sooner had Sir Charles Coote appeared before Galway, when the assembly, there convened, prevailed on Clanricarde to send the like offer to Ludlow. But no general treaty of submission could be now admitted. The settlement of the nation (it was said) belonged to the parliament of England, who would distinguish those who accepted their protection, as well from such as had committed murders and massacres of the protestants, as those who obstinately opposed the authority of the commonwealth;

wealth; so that individuals only, who should immediately lay down their arms, might expect favorable conditions. Nor did this extremity of distress allay the infatuated pride and turbulence of the Irish clergy and their creatures; they still talked idly of renewing the original confederacy; they still maligned and opposed Clanricarde; they still continued their seditious practices, and vented their contempt of that delusion of loyalty, to which they attributed all the misfortunes of the nation. In the midst of consternation, clamour, and confusion, Preston, the governor of Galway, fled by sea from the impending danger; and the city without the least regard to the authority of Clanricarde, was surrendered with an ease utterly astonishing to the besiegers.

Borlase.

THE reduction of a few inferior towns was effected without difficulty; yet the marquis of Clanricarde still continued some appearance of hostilities, from a vain hope of making a diversion in favour of the king's English enterprizes. He pierced into the northern province, and being joined by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donnegal: having maintained these posts for some time, he was obliged to fly from the superior force of the enemy; his troops were dispersed, his resources utterly exhausted, and his person every hour in danger from the treachery of his followers. In this situation, he pursued the king's instructions, and accepted conditions from the republicans. He was allowed to reside unmolested in their quarters for some time, and then to transport himself and three thousand Irish into any prince's service in amity with England. He retired from a country lost to his royal master, by illiberal bigotry, frantic pride, the blindness of men intoxicated by an imaginary consequence, their senseless factions, and incorrigible perverseness, in contending against their own interests, and rejecting every measure necessary for their own security.

In the mean time, the parliament of England ^{A. D. 1652.} concerted measures for the final settlement and administration of Ireland. Lambert was appointed ^{Ludlow.} successor to Ireton, and prepared for his departure; but as Cromwell's commission of lord lieutenant was speedily to expire, it became a question whether it should not be renewed, instead of sending Lambert as his deputy. Cromwell, conscious of his secret designs, artfully entreated that he might not be continued in this office, affecting to concur with those who deemed the title of lord lieutenant more suitable to a monarchy than a commonwealth; at the same time, he moved to employ Lambert in the character of lord deputy. The parliament refused to grant him any higher title than that of commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. Lambert, as Cromwell wished, was offended, and refused to accept this command.. It was conferred on Fleetwood, who had lately married the relict of Ireton, and, of consequence, was particularly devoted to his father-in-law, Cromwell.

Two acts relative to Ireland were now debated in parliament; one for confiscation of all the lands of rebels; another, for adjusting the claims of adventurers, and vesting them with their Irish estates. Before these acts could be completely adjusted, Fleetwood was dispatched to Ireland, where he found scarcely the remains of war, and the Irish of all orders submitting to the terms imposed by their conquerors. They were to abide a trial, if accused ^{Cox.} of any murders committed in the beginning of the war; if convicted, they were to be incapable of pardon, and their estates entirely confiscated: those who had only assisted in the war, were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and to be banished from Ireland; but among those excepted from pardon, for life, and estate, the marquis of Ormond, lord Inchiquin, Bramhal, the protestant bishop of Derry, a man peculiarly obnoxious to the republicans, and the earl of Roscommon, were distinctly named.

Borlase.

Carte.
Orin.
vol. II.
p. 157.

THE first employment of the new administration was to enforce these rigorous ordinances. Commissions issued in the several provinces for the erection of an high court of justice, in order to try those who were accused of murdering the English. Lord Mayo, in Connaught, colonel William Bagnel, in Munster were condemned, not on the clearest and most exceptionable evidence. Lord Muskerry was charged with the assassination of several Englishmen, but honourably acquitted on his trial, and permitted to embark for Spain. So many authors of the first barbarous outrages of this war, had been cut off in the hostilities of ten years, had escaped into foreign countries, or died by famine and the plague, that two hundred only, on the severest inquisition, were condemned to death. In the northern province, which had been the great scene of barbarity, not one was brought to justice but Sir Phelim O'Nial.

FROM the arrival of Owen O'Nial, this barbarous conspirator had continued to act an inferior part, without honor, esteem, or notice. During the administration of Clanricarde, when abler commanders had been gradually removed, he emerged from his obscurity, and gave the marquis some assistance; but was soon compelled by repeated defeats, to shelter himself in a retired island. Hence lord Caulfield, heir of that lord, whose castle and person he had seized, and whom his followers had barbarously murdered, soon dragged him to justice.

Nelson.

In the last period of his life, he discovered a spirit and resolution worthy of a better character. He was accused of exhibiting a commission from the late king for commencing the Irish insurrection: he acknowledged the charge; adding, that on seizing the fort of Charlemont he had found a patent with a broad seal annexed, which he directed to be taken off and fixed to a pretended commission. His judges, not satisfied with this allegation, pressed him to confess if he had received any commission from the king.

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with a promise of his being restored to his estate and liberty, if he could produce any material proof of such a commission. He was allowed time to consider; the offer was repeated; he still persevered in declaring, that he had no commission; that his conscience was already oppressed by the outrages of his followers, and that he could not add to the severity of his present feelings by an unjust calumny of the king. At his execution he was again tempted: when just on the point of being turned from the ladder, two marshals pressed through the crowd, and whispered in his ear. He answered aloud, "I thank the lieutenant general for his intended mercy: but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels, and all you that hear me, I never had any commission from the king for levying or prosecuting this war*.

THE country, thus reduced by the parliament, Ludlow. was wasted and depopulated by a series of public commotions. It was now to be recruited, and restored to some degree of order and tranquillity. While Fleetwood had the sole command of the army, Edmund Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John

* "They would have pardoned and rewarded this man," saith Mr. Carte, "if he had been profligate enough to have falsely accused the late king." — But from the circumstances of the fact it seems rather uncharitable to impute a purpose so malignant to these judges. Many moderate and good men in England, were not entirely satisfied that the late king had granted no commission to the Irish insurgents. It was a point of moment, and worthy to be searched to the bottom. It was natural to suppose, that if such a commission had been given, Sir Phelim O'Neal was the likeliest person to disclose the whole mystery of this iniquity. He was not tempted to accuse the king, nor was his pardon promised on any such condition. He was to purchase it by producing a MATERIAL and AUTHENTIC PROOF of his guilt. If they were not satisfied with the declarations made on his trial, they might possibly conceive, that he had been taught the doctrine of 'mental reserve'; and that the awful moment of his immediate execution was the time when the TRUTH (if such he had hitherto concealed) might probably be extorted from him.

John Weaver, all zealous republicans, were united with him in the civil government, with the modest title of commissioners of parliament. They now declared by proclamation, that the rebellion was subdued, and the war of Ireland concluded. Thus, were the adventurers assured of speedily receiving the lands for which they had advanced their several sums, and the inhabitants of Ireland, eased of all further apprehensions, were encouraged to pursue their husbandry. The people of England were permitted to transport grain and cattle free from duty, to supply the immediate necessities of an exhausted country; and the commissioners were directed to raise a revenue for all such as had been wounded and disabled, and for the children and widows of those who had been killed in the public service.

A. D.
1653.

FORFEIT lands were assigned to satisfy the arrears due to the English army; but this satisfaction was confined to those who had served from the arrival of Cromwell, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-nine. The distresses of those who had borne arms against the Irish before this period were much more lamentable; but they were infected by a mixture of the ungodly and malignant, and no provision could be now obtained for them, except a small portion of lands in Wicklow and the adjacent counties, not sufficient to discharge a fourth part of their arrears. The adventurers, persuaded that there were forfeited lands in one moiety of nine principal counties, sufficient to repay them, accepted this moiety as their full satisfaction; the other was assigned to soldiers. Connaught was reserved entirely for the Irish, under the qualifications determined by parliament. Here they were to confine themselves, and to enjoy their several proportions of land; that so, the new English planters might proceed without interruption, and without that danger of degenerating, which former ages had experienced from an intercourse with the Irish; and the natives, divided by the Shannon from the other provinces, and surrounded
by

by English garrisons, might be restrained from their old barbarous incursions. Notwithstanding all these assignments and provisions, the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, remained still unappropriated. These, together with the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, (of which a part was granted to the university of Dublin) were all reserved by parliament, to be hereafter disposed of at their pleasure. Courts were established at Dublin and Athlone to hear and adjudge all claims, which were to be exhibited and established within a limited time, that all proprietors might be freed from future litigation. Such arrangements necessarily engaged more time than was at first imagined; were attended with complaints, disputes and jealousies; nor, in the distribution of lands, were the commissioners and their creatures inattentive to their own interests.

LITTLE progress had been made in this important affair, when intelligence was received in Ireland of an astonishing revolution. Oliver Cromwell had forcibly dissolved the parliament, delegated the government to another assembly called by the same name, which soon pronounced their own dissolution, and was now declared by his council of officers, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The news of this momentous change in English government was variously received in Ireland; by the army, who complained of partiality in the commissioners, with particular satisfaction; by some fanatics, who had for a long time insulted every party, with invective and resentment; by Ludlow, and other zealous republicans, with abhorrence and indignation. It was proposed to proclaim the protector; after the debates and opposition of a fortnight, Fleetwood, and the commissioners, with a few principal officers, at length, with difficulty, resolved, by the majority of one voice, that a proclamation should be issued. Ludlow retired from the offensive pageantry, declared his purpose of acting no longer as a commissioner, yet still kept

kept his post of lieutenant general, possibly to preserve his influence in the army.

A. D.
1651.

Thurloe's
State
papers.

OLIVER, who was attentive to every part of his new dominions, sent his son Henry into Ireland, to sound the dispositions of the army, to reconcile men's minds to the usurpation, and, by cultivating those of greatest influence, to prepare the way for his future government of this kingdom. Henry was penetrating, just, and generous. He soon discovered, that the commissioners had done little more than make orders for the distribution of lands, reserving large proportions to themselves; so that, in some instances, the state had been scandalously defrauded. He was particularly affected with the miserable condition of the courts of judicature; the delays and oppressions occasioned by the want of able judges and lawyers; the universal desolation, arising from the virulence of his countrymen against the old inhabitants, which had scarcely left a single house out of the walled towns undemolished. He endeavoured to reconcile the disaffected, and practised with Ludlow to gain him to his father's interest, but without effect. He departed, deeply impressed with the necessity of removing the obstinate republicans from every place of power they enjoyed in Ireland.

Ludlow's
memoirs.

THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT required that a parliament should be summoned for the three nations, now united into one commonwealth. Thirty members were to be chosen for Ireland. The commissioners were informed of this clause, and directed to transmit their advice relative to the election of these members. They were of opinion, that in the present desolate and unsettled state of the nation, such an election was not to be attempted, as persons might be chosen in some places not well affected to the English interest. They, therefore, inclined to the opinion, that the protector should call the thirty members by writ to parliament. The spirit of Ludlow was on fire at this ignoble purpose; he

he stepped out of his retreat ; he exhorted the commissioners not to resign the name and form of liberty, though the substance and reality had been tamely yielded ; he despised the apprehensions they expressed of a popular election ; and observed, that the very persons they desired could not fail to be chosen by the influence of government. Fleetwood complied ; he apportioned the numbers to be chosen by the counties and cities ; a private junto of the commissioners agreed on the persons to be returned ; sheriffs were nominated and prepared for this purpose ; and, for the most part, the elections were made agreeably to their desires.

BUT this service could not allay the suspicions ^{Thurloe} which the wary protector entertained of the commissioners. He put an end to their authority, and appointed Fleetwood lord deputy for three years, assigning him a new council to assist in the administration. They were instructed to improve the interest of the commonwealth in Ireland, to suppress idolatry, popery, superstition, and profaneness, to encourage godly and gifted ministers of the word, and to execute the laws against the scandalous and malignant, to provide for the advancement of learning, to attend to the revenue with diligence and economy, and to dispense with the orders of the late parliament and council of state for transporting the Irish into Connaught, if it should be for the public service.

THIS Indulgence to the Irish did not escape the enemies of Cromwell. They had already observed his partiality to the cavaliers, and affected the greatest alarm at his assiduity in conciliating all parties to his interest, however odious and obnoxious. It was observed with no small jealousy, that the form of administration lately established in Ireland was more suited to a royal than a republican government, and indicated a settled purpose in Oliver of establishing a monarchical power in his family. The army was discontented at the delays in assigning them their portions

Ludlow's
memoirs.

portions of land, and many of them utterly dissatisfied with the present government. When Cromwell had recalled a detachment to England, in order to strengthen him against some attempts of the royalists, they mutinied, and exclaimed, that they had engaged to fight against Irish rebels, but in England they might possibly be employed against their best friends. Ludlow was regarded as the principal male-content; he took an active part in enflaming the discontented, and was industrious in dispersing several tracts* published against the protector. Oliver was offended and alarmed. He directed Fleetwood to require him to surrender his commission, and, in case of refusal, to send him prisoner into England. Ludlow refused to give up a commission he had received from the parliament; but, at length, was prevailed on to promise on his parole, that he would present himself before Cromwell; and, in the mean time, not to act against the present government. In the present discontents of England, such a man might prove dangerous. Cromwell, therefore, on recollection, ordered that he should be detained in Ireland; and care was some time after taken that his regiment should be disbanded, so as to diminish his influence.

A. D.
1655.

It cannot be expected that Ireland at this period, should afford any materials for the historian. The old inhabitants were completely broken and subdued; the English army waited with impatience to reap the fruits of their labours; and the great object of administration was, to suppress all murmurs and

* An order was some time after sent to Ireland, conceived in the full spirit of arbitrary power. "that the printer" (for there was but one) in Dublin should not suffer his press "to be made use of, without first bringing the copy to be printed to the clerk of the council; who, upon viewing it, if he found any thing tending to the prejudice of the commonwealth, or the public peace and welfare, should acquaint the council with the same, for their pleasures to be known thereon."

and discontents, and to reconcile men's minds to the present government of England. For this purpose, Henry Cromwell was again employed, first as a military officer, and soon after as lord deputy, in the place of Fleetwood. He found the officers of the army discontented and refractory; they refused to join in an address to the protector, promising to support him against his enemies; at the same time they had the hardiness to petition him to restore their former deputy. Their petition was, indeed, encountered by another from the opposite party, in favor of Henry Cromwell; and the liberal and equitable spirit of his administration, his justice, impartiality, and benevolence, soon reconciled them to their new governor. Though the nation was depopulated and exhausted, and in this state of extreme poverty oppressed with grievous assessments, though the military establishment could not be supported, and the partiality of Oliver to the officers who espoused his cause, prevented any scheme of a reduction; though his grants to particular creatures exhausted the revenue, and no supplies were sent from England; and though the affairs of Ireland were sometimes totally neglected amidst the more urgent concerns of the protector, yet his son Henry proved "a governor from whom he himself might learn; (to use his own expression.) He established his authority so firmly in the hearts of a people, who were ingenuous enough to acknowledge the merits of his administration, that they were entirely reconciled to his father's interests. When Oliver received a petition from the officers of his own regiment, publicly avowing their dissatisfaction at his government, addresses were transmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expressing their resolution of adhering to the protector against all those whose particular animosities endeavoured to re-embroil the public.

On the death of Oliver, the same assurances of support were renewed to Richard, who confirmed

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A. D.
1654.

his brother in the government of Ireland, by the new title of lord lieutenant. He summoned the members chosen for Ireland to his parliament: the republicans, who were for adhering to the ancient law of the land, opposed the admission of thirty men known to be zealous advocates for the ruling power; but the court, with difficulty, at length prevailed, that they should sit and vote. The news of the dissolution of this parliament, and the intrigues of Wallingford-house, was brought to Ireland by Sir Charles Coote. The lieutenant exerted himself with peculiar vigor to support the tottering power of his brother. On the restoration of the rump-parliament, he laboured to prevent the disorders which might arise from this sudden revolution. He issued a proclamation to preserve the peace: and, on consulting with his officers, sent agents to the council of state, with proposals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland. They were referred to the parliament, as it was called, who made some ordinances for the benefit of the adventurers and soldiers; and, at the same time, resolved, that the government of Ireland should be again administered by commissioners, that Henry Cromwell should be recalled, and Ludlow appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in this kingdom.

Thurloe.

HENRY had already declared to Fleetwood, "that, although he could not promise so much affection to the late changes, as others very honestly might, because he could not promote any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father's honor and merit, yet he had such a tenderness for peace as to be content with the present government; and, therefore, thought it his duty to prevent those fears and jealousies which might give occasion to interrupt the public peace, by resigning his charge to any one whom they should send to receive it." The new commissioners were not acquainted with his sentiments, or suspected his sincerity. They dreaded his abilities, his popularity,

rity, and his power in Ireland: they imagined he would attempt to retain his authority by force. Sir Hardress Waller was employed to surprise the castle of Dublin; he was admitted without the least opposition while Henry Cromwell retired to a house in the Phoenix-Park, having administered the government with such disregard to his private interest, that he could not immediately command so much money as might defray the expences of a voyage to England,

From the moment of the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the royalists of Ireland conceived the most sanguine hopes of the king's speedy restoration. Most of the old English race, and many of the original Irish, were sincerely devoted to his interests; and the Scots of Ulster were so dreaded by the usurpers, that the severest ordinances had been repeatedly made for excluding their countrymen from Ireland. The attachment of lord Broghill to the royal family, was justly suspected, notwithstanding his compliances with Oliver and his sons; so that on intelligence of the insurrection of Sir George Booth, Ludlow and the new commissioners threatened to confine him, unless he should engage to keep the southern province in peaceable subjection to the present government; a demand so unreasonable, that they could not insist upon it, as they would not venture to entrust him with the sole power of this province. It is said that even Henry Cromwell, when deprived of his government, had once resolved to declare for the king, though on the arrival of the commissioners, he changed this resolution.

Carta.
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 201.

THESE dispositions in favor of the king were considerably promoted by the severity and jealousy of the commissioners. That the army might be modelled to the purposes of their faction, lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and other suspected persons, were dismissed: on the quarrel between the army and parliament, they proceeded yet further; more than two hundred officers were cashiered without any trial, or any crime alleged to diminish the merit

merit of their long and painful services. Broghill was, by birth and interest, determined to the side of monarchy. Disgusted at the sudden revolutions of power, the anarchy and confusion of England, and evidently foreseeing, that these events must end in the restoration of the king, he resolved to secure his share of merit; but cautious, dark, and deliberate, he concealed his intentions, and to the last disclaimed all thoughts of what he called, "a ruinous wickedness." He laboured, at the same time, to engage all his officers, friends, and dependents, in his design. He communicated it to Sir Charles Coote, who had already betrayed a disaffection both to the rump-parliament and to the army. Coote, and his father, had engaged in the parliamentary service, not from principle, but interest. The ruin of this party was evidently approaching. Sir Charles had no way to atone for his opposition to the royal family, but by a speedy and zealous declaration in favor of the king. He instantly embraced the overtures of Broghill; and his ardour, like that of all new converts, was violent and unrestrained. He threatened, by his precipitation, to defeat the measures of this lord; and was scarcely restrained from an untimely declaration.

Thurloe.

Orrery's
memoirs.

Ludlow.

In the mean time, Ludlow was recalled to London, by the dissolution of the rump-parliament. Colonel John Jones, one of the late king's judges, was appointed to command the forces in Ireland, and seemed to exult in his address, in reconciling the army to the new change of government. The commissioners were so resigned to the authority of Lambert and his officers, that they suddenly changed their title from that of commissioners of parliament, to commissioners of the common-wealth. Peace and composure seemed established in Ireland, when the royal party burst from their concealment, and demolished the whole fabric of this republican government. Lord Montgomery, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver Saint-George, Sir Audley Mervyn, and others of considerable weight and consequence, had

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by this time adopted the same sentiments of lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote. They formed a bold design to seize the castle of Dublin, and to secure the persons of the commissioners. They assembled at Dublin, on pretence of petitioning for a general council of officers, to deliver their sentiments on the present state of affairs. Their petition was rejected; when, by a sudden and desperate effort, they possessed themselves of the castle, made Jones their prisoner, seized Corbet and Tomlinson, two of his colleagues, on their return from a conventicle, and declared for a free parliament. In the mean time, Sir Charles Coote, impatient to be distinguished by his zeal, secured the town and fort of Galway, changed the governor, collected a considerable body, consisting chiefly of the old English, surprised Athlone, marched to Dublin, and impeached Ludlow and the commissioners of high treason. The royalists of other quarters possessed themselves of Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda; so that in one week, most of the considerable garrisons of Ireland declared for a free parliament; a language, whose real import was, by this time, generally understood.

CHARLES was soon informed of these favorable appearances in Ireland. Lord Broghill invited him to repair immediately to this kingdom. Coote employed an emissary to explain his intentions, and to give the warmest assurances of his service. It was even debated in the king's council, whether he should not go directly to Ireland. Charles seemed resolved on this enterprize; but there was now great expectation from the proceedings of Monk; it was considered, that this country must of course follow the example of England; it was, therefore, thought proper to suspend this resolution, until the issue of English affairs should be discovered.

A COUNCIL of officers now assumed the government of Ireland. On a petition of the magistracy of Dublin, they summoned a convention of estates.

The

Carte,
Ormond.
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The council of state in England ordered this convention to be dissolved: but they proceeded in contempt of these orders. They declared their detestation of the proceedings of the high court of justice, and the late king's murder; and, having secured the army, by providing for the payment of the arrears, and their future maintenance, they published their declaration for a full and free parliament.

Ludlow's
Memoirs.

LUDLOW now arrived in the port of Dublin. The council of officers attempted to seize this desperate republican, but in vain. Instead of venturing on shore, he went to Duncannon; and, by his letters to the commanders of several garrisons, endeavoured to exasperate them against the dangerous proceedings of Dublin, and to confirm their attachment to the good old cause. But the parliament of England were so awed and influenced by Monk, that they soon recalled Ludlow, and their other Irish commissioners. Sir Hardress Waller was now the only dangerous opponent to the convention. He had sat as one of the late king's judges; and, although he had refused to sign an engagement to Lambert and his faction, and was zealous for the parliament, yet was he a determined enemy to monarchy, and, both by interest and principle, averse to every measure tending to a restoration. He mixed with the council of officers at Dublin; and, when a bold and virulent remonstrance was preparing to be transmitted to the English parliament, he artfully moved, that the council should be adjourned to the castle. The officers, justly suspecting a design to seize their persons, rejected this motion. Waller, with some partizans, contrived to possess themselves of the castle, and openly declared their intentions of bringing the leaders of the council to condign punishment. The incident was alarming. Sir Charles Coote, and Sir Theophilus Jones, mounted on horseback, rode through the streets exclaiming for a free parliament, and were soon followed

lowed by a vast concourse echoing their clamours. The castle was invested, and after a resistance of five days, Walter was reduced, and sent prisoner to England.

THE convention and council of officers now proceeded without restraint or opposition, and avowed ^{Carte;} ^{ut sup.} their design of restoring the king. One point only remained to be debated, whether they should stipulate for a confirmation of estates to the adventurers and soldiers, or whether they should restore him without any previous condition. Possessed with high notions of their own consequence, they debated this point warmly. Coote contended for submitting all their interests implicitly to the king; and his opinion at length prevailed. He thus triumphed over the coldness and caution of lord Broghill, who, by affecting to proceed slowly and secretly, rendered himself suspected to several of the royalists. He seemed to apprehend, that the forwardness of the Irish subjects might give offence to the royalists of England: the ardour of Coote was not restrained by such considerations; hence arose an emulation between these leaders which might have proved inconvenient, had there been a necessity for action. But a few inconsiderable fanatics, and some of the old Irish, with their popish primate, were the only persons who presumed to declare against the king. The body of the nation caught the flame of loyalty, and waited with impatience for the declaration of Breda. This was readily accepted; Charles was proclaimed in all the great towns of Ireland with every manifestation of joy; and the convention voted a present of twenty thousand pounds to his majesty, four thousand to the duke of York, and two thousand to the duke of Gloucester.

C H A P. III.

Temper of different parties in Ireland at the restoration. . . .
Irish catholics odious. . . . Ordinances against them. . . .
Prelacy and the liturgy restored. . . . Petition in favor of
dissenters suppressed. . . . DECLARATION for the settlement
of Ireland. . . . Instructions for executing it. . . . Temper
and proceedings of the Irish parliament. . . . Debates on the
act of settlement in Ireland, . . . and in London. . . . Indis-
cretion of the Irish agents. . . . Colonel Richard Talbot,
. . . . The Irish agents dismissed with disgrace. . . . Thirty
thousand pounds granted by parliament to the duke of Or-
mond. . . . ACT OF SETTLEMENT passed. . . . Court of wards
abolished. . . . Objections to the act of settlement. . . . Court
of claims. . . . NEW INTEREST alarmed and provoked. . . .
Plot for seizing the castle of Dublin. . . . Address to the
house of commons, and Mervyn's speech. . . . Scheme of a
general insurrection, detected and defeated. . . . Plan of an
ACT OF EXPLANATION. . . . Ormond called to England.
. . . . Act of explanation debated. . . . Dissatisfaction of the
Irish. . . . Objections of the commons at Dublin. . . . Pro-
ceedings of the Irish parliament. . . . Act of explanation
passed. . . . Perplexities in the execution of it. . . . Bill for
prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England. . . .
Its effects on Ireland. . . . Motion for a perpetual prohibi-
tion. . . . Violence of the two English houses. . . . Their bill
receives the royal assent. . . . Useful caution of the duke of
Ormond. . . . His endeavours to alleviate the distresses of
Ireland arising from this bill, . . . to establish arts and ma-
nufactures, and to encourage learning in Ireland. . . . Prac-
tices against the duke of Ormond in England. . . . Dissimu-
lation of the king. . . . Lord Roberts appointed lord lieute-
nant of Ireland. . . . His character and conduct. . . . He is
succeeded by lord Berkley.

THE restoration of Charles the Second was an A. D. event of great expectation in every part of the 1660. English dominions; but in Ireland, after a desperate civil war of almost nine years, various contentions of violent and embittered factions, and various revolutions of power and property, it naturally roused the hopes and fears of men, and kept their attention to the most interesting objects of this life strained to a painful degree of anxiety. The old inhabitants, the new adventurers, catholics, fanatics, every denomination of protestants, and every party of Romanists, eyed each other with jealousy, with envy, with suspicion and aversion; impatient to be restored to their ancient possessions, to be confirmed in their new acquisitions, to be pardoned for their delinquency, or to be rewarded for their services.

Of these, the Irish catholics were the most impatient. They whom Cromwell had declared innocent of the rebellion, who yet were ejected from their estates, and obliged to accept some inferior portions of land in Connaught, now exulted in the extinction of a fanatical tyranny. Even before the king had been proclaimed, many of them, disdain-
 ing the slow and formal procedure of law, re-entered
 on their patrimonial lands, and expelled the new in-
 truders. Hence arose various riots and disorders,
 which obliged the convention to publish an ordinance, for preserving the peace and quieting possessions. Nothing could be more acceptable to the new English settlers than these instances of lawless outrage. They represented them in England as the first overtures to a new rebellion; and, in England, every rumour unfavorable to the Irish was received with peculiar avidity. Agents were sent from Ireland, who reported their conduct and designs with every offensive aggravation, so that before the landing of the king, the act of indemnity was so prepared as to exclude all those who had any hand in plotting or contriving, aiding or abetting the re-
 VOL. III. 3 F rebellion

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Orm.

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bellion of Ireland, by which the whole Romish party were in effect excluded: and when, by another clause it was provided, that the act should not extend to restore to any persons the estates disposed of by authority of any parliament or convention, it was with some difficulty that an exception was inserted of "the marquis of Ormond, and other the protestants of Ireland." Some other provisos were attempted, which must have utterly ruined all the old English families of this country; but they were suspended, and afterwards defeated by the marquis.

IN the mean time, the severest ordinances lately made against the Irish Roman catholics were strictly executed. They were not allowed to pass from one province to another on their ordinary business; many of them were imprisoned, their letters were intercepted; their gentry were forbidden to meet, and thus deprived of the opportunity of chusing agents, or representing their grievances. No sooner had the king arrived in London, when the houses united in representing the danger to be apprehended from the recent violences of many natives of Ireland; and Charles was obliged to publish a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels, and commanding that adventurers, soldiers, and others, who were possessed of their manors, houses, or lands, should not be disturbed in their possessions, until legally evicted, or his majesty, by advice of parliament, should take further order therein.

THE Irish convention and their agents, who attended on the king and the English parliament, were not yet satisfied. This proclamation might be recalled; another might be issued of a different tenour; several of the Irish daily solicited for letters to put them in possession of their former estates, and several were granted. An Irish parliament, duly composed, and speedily convened, was deemed absolutely necessary to secure the interests of the soldiers and adventurers. The king was urged to call such a parliament without delay; he answered, that

that it should be called in due time; for he had not yet leisure to satisfy the impatience of these bold petitioners. Several arrangements were previously to be made in the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of Ireland, both at this time remarkably embarrassed and disordered. The convention had requested, that all impropriate and forfeited tythes and glebes, in the king's disposal, might be granted to the clergy; and that all escheated lands now exempted from the payment of ecclesiastical dues, might hereafter be made liable to the same. To this request Charles readily condescended; but who the ministers should be that were to receive these endowments was a point not universally agreed.

BESIDES the Scottish ministers in the northern province, some divines of the Presbyterian judgment had lately gained possession of churches in Dublin, and the adjacent country, governed themselves in divine service by the directory, and preached the covenant with particular industry. They were indeed few, for the ecclesiastical benefices of Ireland were at this time too poor to tempt any numbers of these zealous missionaries from England. But they had courage, assiduity, and friends; and, on the king's landing, petitioned to have their model of church government established. A petition of the same nature was promoted in the army of Ireland. The divines of the episcopal persuasion were alarmed, and remonstrated against these proceedings. They applied to Ormond for protection: Ormond proved their zealous and powerful advocate. He represented to the king, that episcopacy and the liturgy were as yet part of the legal establishment of Ireland; he proposed, that instead of trusting to the sense of a new parliament, composed of the adventurers and officers of Cromwell's army, the king should immediately proceed to fill up the ecclesiastical preferments of this country with men of worth, learning, and zeal for the established church. The advice was approved, and Charles immediately filled the four archbishoprics, and
twelve

twelve episcopal sees, with the most eminent of the clergy of Ireland.

As a new great seal was not yet prepared, the patents, and, of consequence, the consecration of the nominated prelates were delayed for some months. The enemies of this order were elated; they imputed the delay to some secret reluctance or irresolution in the king. Their agents were busily employed in every quarter of the kingdom; a petition prepared to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give order that their godly ministers of the gospel might be continued and protected; adventurers, officers, civil and military, men of every order and condition were solicited to subscribe this petition. On the return of the king, Monk had been appointed lord lieutenant, and lord Roberts deputy of Ireland; but as both continued in England, the administration was committed to Sir Charles Coote, and one major Bury, with the title of commissioners of government. Of these, Coote was well affected to the established church, Bury countenanced the petition. The officers of the army had drawn it up, and were its chief promoters. In the ardour of their zeal they had incautiously betrayed their secret aversion to monarchy; and, in this their favorite petition, inserted several expressions reflecting on the present government. Of these Coote took full advantage, and, by pointing them out to his colleague, and alarming him with the consequences, prevailed on him to unite in suppressing the petition.

BUT however men's passions were at this time engaged by modes of church government and religious worship, the lauds and possessions of Ireland were objects still more interesting to the several inhabitants. On the adjournment of the English houses, the king had some leisure to attend to the distractions and competitions of this kingdom; and policy demanded, that he should make such establishments, as might, if possible, satisfy the different

ferent claimants, prevent all future litigation, and form a complete, peaceable, and lasting settlement. The variety of pretensions, as well as the unreasonable expectations both of parties and individuals, rendered this an arduous and perplexing task.

THE interest of the adventurers, who on the credit of those acts of parliament to which the late king assented, had advanced their money, and received their Irish lands from the usurpers, required particular regard, unless the king were to give the whole English nation an occasion to impeach his justice. The late merit of the protestant Irish army in returning to their duty, and concurring cheerfully in his restoration, claimed a competent provision for their pay. He had made a peace with the confederate Irish in the year sixteen hundred and forty-eight; and, however grievous the conditions, they were to be made good to those who adhered to the treaty, and honestly performed their engagements. Numbers of this party, when driven from their country, had expressed their loyalty and affection to the king during his exile, submitting to his commands with all cheerfulness, and engaging in the service of France or Spain, as he deemed most consonant to his interests: such men could not now be excluded from his favor and protection. Some provision was due to those protestant officers, who, from the beginning of the Irish war, had faithfully served the king to the year sixteen hundred and forty-nine, and to whom Cromwell had denied any satisfaction for arrears on account of their attachment to the royal cause. Such various claimants and such clashing interests, seemed difficult, if not impossible, to be satisfied. The king was willing to resign all his forfeitures; but all his forfeitures seemed insufficient for this purpose, to men best acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland. Various schemes were devised, considered, and rejected. Lord Broghill, now created earl of Orrery, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur Mervyn, three

three bold and sanguine undertakers, at length formed an estimate of lands, which, when the adventurers and soldiers should be confirmed in their possessions, seemed in theory, sufficient to compensate, or to *reprise*, as it was called, all the innocent or meritorious Irish. Charles eagerly adopted a scheme which promised to relieve his indolence from embarrassment and perplexity, and published his famous declaration for the settlement of Ireland.

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cap. 2.

By this declaration, in the first place, the adventurers were confirmed in the lands possessed by them on the seventh day of May, sixteen hundred and fifty-nine, agreeably to the acts of parliament of the seventeenth and eighteenth years of Charles the First; and all their deficiencies were to be satisfied before the ensuing month of May. These lands were to be held in free and common soccage.

In the next place, the king confirmed to the soldiers the lands allotted for their pay (to be held by knights service *in capite*) with an exception of church-lands, of estates procured by fraudulent means, and of lands possessed by those who were excepted in the act of oblivion and indemnity, or any others who, since the restoration, had endeavored to disturb the public peace, or manifested an aversion to the regal government.

OFFICERS who had served before the month of June 1649, and had not yet received lands for their pay were to be satisfied by estates, houses, and other securities allotted for this purpose. From these they were to receive immediate satisfaction of twelve shillings and sixpence in the pound of their arrears, and an equal dividend of whatever should remain of their security.

PROTESTANTS, whose estates had been given to adventurers, or soldiers, were to be restored, unless they had been in rebellion before the cessation, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare. The persons thus removed were to be reprimed, without being accountable for the *mesne profits*.

INNOCENT

INNOCENT papists, although they had taken lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their estates; and the persons, thus removed to be reprimed. If they had sold their Connaught lands, they were to satisfy the purchasers. But as the modelling of corporations seemed essential to the security of government, and as it was a point determined, that they should be formed entirely of English inhabitants, there was an exception inserted in this article. Those innocent papists, whose former estates lay within corporate towns, instead of being restored to their possessions, were to be reprimed in the neighbourhood.

PAPISTS who submitted and adhered to the peace of sixteen hundred and forty-eight, if they staid at home, sued out decrees, and received lands in Connaught, were to be bound thereby, and not relieved from their own act.

THOSE who had served abroad under the king's ensigns, and accepted no lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their old possessions, but not till the adventurers or soldiers, who now enjoyed them, should be reprimed and satisfied for their disbursements.

THE English parliament had already restored the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin to their estates; and, in the present declaration, a provision was made for the interests of these lords, and some others, particularly of Monk, now duke of Albemarle, who received a considerable grant of Irish forfeitures. Thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry were also named as objects of the king's peculiar favor, to be restored to their estates on the same terms with those who had served abroad.

THAT no dispute might arise about precedence in restitution, it was directed, that innocent protestants and papists, who had no lands assigned in Connaught, should be first restored; then the innocent who had taken out decrees for such lands;

lands: the persons thus dispossessed were then to receive their reprisals; and, next in order, were those Irish to be restored to their lands, who claimed the benefit of the peace concluded in sixteen hundred and forty-eight, or had served abroad under the king's ensigns. Should any lands remain after the necessary reprisals, they were assigned to the satisfaction of those who had furnished arms, ammunition, or provision for the Irish war, previous to the year sixteen hundred and forty-nine; and from all the estates thus settled, restored, or reprised, a small rent was reserved to the crown.

To establish the particulars mentioned in this declaration, the king expressed his intention of convening a parliament in Ireland; and that, on the final settlement of this kingdom, an act of general pardon and oblivion should be passed, with an exception only of notorious murderers: that all frauds committed in decrees of forfeitures, should be reviewed and corrected; and that all judicial proceedings in the courts of law, or claims, should be ratified by parliament.

As a free gift from the adventurers and soldiers, the king graciously accepted one half year's rent from each of their two first years, to be applied to his own use, and that of the eminent sufferers in his service.

From all benefit of this declaration were excluded those concerned in contriving the surprisal of the castle of Dublin in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, the late king's judges, they who signed his sentence, and the guard of halbertiers who assisted in the execution of it.

AND as Charles abhorred the republican and fanatic spirit more than that of popery, he determined that the corporations should be formed entirely of men friendly to monarchy. His declaration was, therefore, closed by a provision, that nothing therein contained should extend to confirm the disposition of
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any lands or tenements belonging to any city, or sea-town incorporated, either to adventurer, soldier, or any others; but that they should remain in his own hands, to be restored to such corporations as were found fit for his grace and favor; and that the persons, to whom they had been assigned, should be reprimed as in other cases.

THE declaration thus framed, was transmitted to Ireland, with instructions for the execution of it, addressed to three new lords justices, Sir Maurice Eustace, lord chancellor, the earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, now advanced to the dignity of earl of Montrath. The appointment of these chief governors was immediately followed by the consecration of twelve bishops. This seemed a solemn revival of the ecclesiastical establishment, and was performed with such pomp, as indicated a kind of triumph over the puritanic party, who had hoped for the extinction of prelacy, and who had laboured to the last to effect some diminution at least of the ecclesiastical revenues, but were still disappointed, chiefly by the interposition of the marquis of Ormond.

THE declaration for the settlement of Ireland, however calculated to provide for all interests, yet did not satisfy the expectations of every party. To the adventurers and soldiers, indeed, the king vouchsafed an enviable degree of favor. Nor was it without considerable repining, that the loyal officers who served before the year sixteen hundred and forty-nine, (or, as they were stiled in these days, the FORTY-NINE-MEN) beheld what they deemed an unreasonable partiality to fanatics and republicans. They themselves had fought bravely against the Irish Insurgents when their power was greatest, and the war most violent. Their known attachment to royalty had rendered them odious to the late usurpers. Their arrears remained unpaid; and now, little more than half of these arrears were to be satisfied; nor were the securities assigned for this purpose

pose deemed sufficient to discharge even this proportion of their demands. Those of the Irish who pleaded their innocence or their merits, were still more provoked, that the restitution of their estates should be deferred until reprisals were found and assigned to the present unjust possessors. They objected to the choice of commissioners for executing the declaration, who were all, by interest and inclination, bound to the adventurers and soldiers; and the instructions sent to these commissioners, filled them with the most melancholy apprehensions.

IN these instructions they complained, that the qualifications necessary to ascertain their innocence were so severely stated, that scarcely any of their nation could expect a sentence of acquittal. No man was to be restored as an innocent papist, who, at or before the cessation of the year sixteen hundred and forty three, was of the royal party, or enjoyed his property in the quarters of the rebels, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who were driven into these quarters by force. No papist was to be deemed innocent who had entered into the Irish confederacy before the peace of forty-eight: none who had at any time adhered to the nuncio, the clergy or the papal power, in opposition to the royal authority, or, who having being excommunicated for his loyalty, had acknowledged himself an offender, and received absolution. Whoever derived the title to his estate from any who died guilty of these crimes; whoever claimed his estate on the articles of peace, and thus acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion; whoever in the English quarters held correspondence with the rebels; whoever, before the peace of forty-six, or that of forty-eight, sat in any assemblies or councils of the confederates, or acted by any commissions derived from them; whoever employed agents to treat with any foreign papal power for bringing forces into Ireland,

or

Irish Stat.
ut supra.

or acted in such negociations, or harassed the country as Wood-kerns, or "Tories," as they were called, before the departure of the marquis of Clanricarde, were all to be considered as guilty of rebellion, and incapable of restitution.

THE popish party exclaimed against the rigour of several of these qualifications, against the palpable injustice of the first. They pleaded, that abundance of catholics, averse to the rebellion of their countrymen, and well affected to the crown, had lived peaceably in their own houses, lying accidentally within the quarters of the rebels, who, out of reverence to their characters, or favor to religion, left them unmolested, though they would not concur in their hostilities. They recalled to view the conduct of the lords justices in the beginning of the rebellion, and their proclamation banishing all those on pain of death, who attempted to seek shelter in Dublin. They inveighed against the cruelty of depriving men of their estates, for residing in the only places where government permitted them to reside; and, in a time of war and commotion, accepting mercy from those whom they could not resist.

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p. 220.

ON the other hand, it was urged, that such men had not only given no assistance to the crown, but favored and supported their rebellious countrymen: that their exclusion from the capital, was a proof that they were considered as enemies to the state; that at the distance of twenty years, it was impossible to prove particular acts of rebellion against many who were most guilty; that their place of residence was now the only means of distinguishing between the innocent and criminal; and that a scrupulous adherence to this qualification was of absolute necessity, to prevent multitudes of dangerous and disaffected papists from recovering their power, embarrassing the king's government; and, perhaps, renewing the commotions of the realm, with all their tremendous consequences.

Ibid,
p. 230

SUCH

Such arguments received additional force from that violent and inveterate aversion which the new race of English settlers entertained to the catholics of Ireland. Full fraught with the puritanic spirit, they abhorred their idolatrous and antichristian worship. Enflamed with exaggerated accounts of their rapine, their murders, and massacres, they shuddered at their barbarity. They urged it as a point necessary to the public peace, to crush these enemies of God and man. They contended for the establishment of what they called an English interest in Ireland, as the most effectual security of the crown; and both their principles, and their passion for power and riches, served to extend their aversion indiscriminately to all the old inhabitants, even of the protestant profession. However unpolluted by the errors and excesses of popery, yet were they not sufficiently heated against prelacy. However bravely they had fought against popish insurgents, they had fought with equal bravery against republicans; and, what was equally intolerable, their services had now a fair claim to attention and reward.

A. D.
1661.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 222.

In such dispositions, men waited impatiently for the meeting of that Irish parliament, which was to confirm the king's declaration by a law, and by which they hoped to be established in their possessions, or to be redressed in their grievances. The parliament was convened; and, as the adventurers and soldiers kept possession of their lands and their interests in the several corporations, most of the members elected for the lower house were of their party. No catholics, and but few of the more virulent fanatics, were returned. Both houses began with a declaration requiring all persons to conform to the church-government and liturgy established by law, in which they agreed the readier, and which they published with the greater expedition, before the non-conformists had encreased their power, by being fully secured in their estates. They concurred with equal ease in censuring the covenant, and oaths of association. The commons resolved to address the

the lords justices, that the term should be adjourned, and the courts of law for some time shut up, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries, and the ejectment of adventurers or soldiers, before their present title should be adjusted by a statute. The lords objected to such a measure, not only as unconstitutional, but of great prejudice to the old protestants. Yet, it was at length carried in their house to unite in this address, and the justices condescended to their request.

THE commons hated and dreaded the popish party; and not satisfied with the present modelling of their house, laboured to exclude all of this party from ever sitting in it. A bill had been transmitted for imposing an oath of qualification on their members, calculated for this purpose. It was suppressed in England as unseasonable. They again attempted their purpose, by a resolution, that no members should sit in their house, who had not taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; and artfully involving other obnoxious persons in the same incapacity, they added an exclusion of "all those, " and the sons of those, who had sat in the pretended high courts of justice wherein sentence of death had been pronounced on the late king, or any of his majesty's subjects, (except Thomas Scot, who had been active in the restoration.") This resolution, when communicated to the justices, was condemned as an invasion on the prerogative, in requiring qualifications different from what his majesty had expressed in his writ. Provoked at what they deemed an unreasonable partiality to papists, they revived the rumours of new plots and conspiracies, received informations of many dark designs and suspicious proceedings of the Irish, alarmed the government with the danger of public commotions; and though all their industry could produce no material discoveries, yet it served their purpose of loading an obnoxious party with additional odium, at a time when they were to contend with them for estates and settlements.

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THE great object of this parliament was the heads of a bill for settling the kingdom pursuant to the king's declaration. In the commons where the NEW INTEREST of adventurers and soldiers was predominant, it was contended that the declaration should be strictly observed, and confirmed exactly by a law. In the upper house sat several lords of the Irish race; several, who by interest and inclination, were attached to the old English families of Ireland, and exasperated at the thought, that men of noble or reputable origin, settled in the kingdom for ages, loyal and zealous supporters of the crown, should be supplanted by a new colony of mean extraction and seditious spirit, who, though established by the usurpers, presumed to call themselves the only subjects in the realm on whom the king could depend.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 228.

At the head of these stood the earl of Kildare, fortified by his powerful connexions, and the proxy of Ormond, now created a duke. They contended, that the king's declaration had been made on misinformation; that should it be adhered to literally, the hopes of the new interest indeed would be fully gratified, but no reprisals could be found either for the old protestants, for the Irish named as especial objects of royal favor, or NOMINEES, (as they were called) for those who had served abroad, now stiled ENSIGN-MEN, or for those who should be adjudged innocent. To enlarge the fund of reprisals, they insisted, that a number of the most pestilent fanatics should, by name, be excluded from all advantages of the declaration: they examined the proceedings of the court of claims; here they found various subjects of complaint; the streets of Dublin were crowded with widows, who had entered claims for their jointures, and though most of their cases admitted no difficulty, not one had been restored. When restitution had been directed by the king to particular persons, they could obtain no order for their estates: the commissioners pleaded, that there were no reprisals for the present possessors; and, it was found on enquiry, that they had granted the

the lands allotted for the reprisals clandestinely to their own friends, under the notion of *cautionary* reprisals, or reprisals *de bene esse*. The lords deemed it necessary to put some stop to this scandalous abuse of power, and to petition the king, that these illicit grants should be revoked.

In another particular, they insisted on a remarkable defalcation from the claims of the adventurers. Soon after the English act of the seventeenth year of Charles the First, for vesting those who should advance money with the forfeited lands of Ireland, the parliament in the distresses of the civil war published what was called the DOUBLING ORDINANCE. It imported, that whoever should advance one-fourth Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 225. part more than his original adventure, should have the whole doubled on account, and receive lands as for the whole doubled sum really paid; and that, if the adventurer refused to advance this fourth, any other person on paying it, should reap the same advantage, deducting only the original money paid by the first adventurer. The king, it was alleged, was by no means bound to ratify these stipulations. They were founded not on the act of adventurers, but an ordinance of parliament, which could be no longer binding than while that parliament subsisted; nor was the money thus raised at all applied to the service of Ireland; so that there was no foundation either in law, equity, or the king's declaration, for confirming such exorbitant advantages, by which the crown must unjustly lose more than sixty thousand pounds, which, in land, by a moderate calculation, would amount to one hundred and forty-two thousand acres; and these, at the rate of three shillings by the acre, to the sum of two hundred and twelve thousand pounds a year.

THESE objections were approved, notwithstanding all the efforts of Sir John Clotworthy, now lord Massarene, who had been a considerable agent in the English parliament for the doubling ordinance; and was now particularly interested to support it. The affair was laid before the king; the king agreed to

to the propriety of satisfying the adventurers on this ordinance for the money they had really advanced and no more. A clause for this purpose was inserted in the heads of the bill of settlement, which after various contests and delays, were at length prepared, amended, transcribed, and presented to the lords justices. Some weeks passed in adjusting clauses and provisos, which the justices took the liberty to insert. It was at length transmitted to England by three lords commissioned by the council, while each house of parliament nominated their agents to attend the king and council in England, and to solicit the immediate passing of the bill.

A. D.
1662.

Carte.
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 233.—
245.

LONDON now became the great scene of debate on Irish affairs; and hither the Irish catholics also sent agents to plead their cause. The adventurers raised a considerable sum of money to be distributed among those who could support their interest. The Irish had neither money nor friends. The English nation regarded them with horror. The council, before whom they were to appear, knew little of the conduct of individuals who deserved favor, and were ready to involve them all in the general guilt of massacre and rebellion. The duke of Ormond was the only person able and inclined to save them from ruin; and him they took care, in the first place to disoblige. He recommended a modest extenuation of their crimes, an humble submission to the king's mercy, and a declaration of their desire to live peaceably and brotherly with their fellow-subjects for the future: they chose to plead the justice of their cause, their merits, and superior pretensions to the king's favor. He was ready to approve himself their zealous advocate: they chose another advocate. Colonel Richard Talbot, son of Sir William, an eminent lawyer of Ireland, and brother of Sir Robert, a man highly revered by the Irish confederates, had, in the Low Countries, acquired the favor of the Duke of York. His brother, Peter, an Irish jesuit, was said to be entrusted with

with the secrets of the king's reconciliation to popery. Richard was well acquainted with the religion of the duke. By his interest he had been raised to station and consequence; which he enjoyed without moderation, ambitious, vain, and violent. Abundance of the Irish, who were attached to the nuncio and his party, when driven from Ireland, had entered into foreign service. When the king recalled his subjects from France, they repaired to Flanders, and helped to form his little army. Their sense of this merit effaced all remembrance of their former errors. Their expectations were extravagant. Ormond, who would not contribute to gratify them, and Clarendon, who opposed them, were perpetually the subjects of their abuse. They addressed themselves to Richard Talbot, as a rising favorite. He had served against the nuncio's party; yet the vanity of appearing popular led him to espouse the cause of these men. They followed the king to London; where they and their patron continued their invectives against Ormond and the chancellor.

THE Irish agents were easily induced to consider Talbot as the fittest person to support their cause. Richard boldly promised them essential services, inveighing against the duke of Ormond, and his advice, as coming from a person by no means well inclined to their party. Fully possessed with the justice of their cause, and the influence of their patron Talbot, they yielded to his insinuations, rejected the measures proposed by the duke, and provoked him to withdraw from Irish affairs, and leave them to pursue the dictates of their own insolence and folly.

THEIR success was soon found not to correspond with their expectations. They made a bold demand to be relieved from the rigor of those qualifications of innocency which the king's instructions had prescribed, and that neither their claiming the articles of peace, nor paying contributions to the rebels, nor residing in their quarters, should be regarded

as a proof of guilt. Thus the greatest part of the rebels must be declared innocent, restored to their lands, resume their settlements in corporations and places of strength, so as to constitute all future parliaments of Ireland at their pleasure; to strike the English settlers in every part of Ireland with perpetual terror; and, at any time, to revive the disorders of the kingdom with particular advantage. A demand which threatened such dangerous consequences, which, if granted, must defeat the purpose of the king's declaration, by leaving no reprisals for those whom he intended to gratify, was naturally received with disgust, and speedily rejected. It was, by this time universally allowed, that there were not lands in Ireland sufficient for reprisals; and the stock was much diminished by a grant to the duke of York of all the estates possessed by the regicides; so that the restoration of the Irish appeared every day more desperate. To complete their mortification, the king declared his intentions of establishing and supporting an English interest in Ireland. They imputed this resolution to the practices of Ormond; Talbot was employed to expostulate with him; and his expostulation was so indecent and intemperate, that he was committed to the tower, and released only on an humble submission.

IN a juncture so critical, common prudence must have dictated the most guarded and inoffensive conduct to the Irish. Yet they wantonly disobliged a nobleman, to whose abilities and equity the interests of all subjects of Ireland were entrusted; for the duke of Ormond was now declared lord lieutenant of this kingdom. At home their enemies and competitors were indefatigable in endeavouring to load their whole party with the guilt of new conspiracies; and even manifest forgeries were received as solid proofs. In London, their agents boasted their loyalty, and that of their ancestors, in terms so pompous and confident, as if there never had been any rebellion in Ireland. They challenged as their right, the exact performance of every article
of

of the peace made in sixteen hundred and forty-eight. The king, who considered every concession as his free grace and favor, was shocked at this peremptory demand. Their adversaries laboured to convince him, that from the time, the circumstances, and the nature of this peace, it was in itself invalid, and could not possibly oblige him; and he listened to their reasonings with favor. While the Irish clamored for justice, they submitted calmly to his mercy, and acknowledged that both their properties and their lives were derived from this source. While the Irish inveighed with acrimony against English rebels and regicides, and involved all the adventurers and soldiers in this guilt, many of their judges, conscious of opposing the late king, were offended and exasperated. When their adversaries recriminated, by displaying all the horrors of the Irish massacres, the outrages of the war, their traitorous endeavours to subvert the English government, and to introduce a foreign power into Ireland, they were heard with favor and applause. And as the conduct of the Irish was intemperate, so their demands were inadmissible; nor would they propose any qualification, or listen to any expedient which might tend to accommodate any party but their own.

THE very length and tediousness of various examinations and debates about the affairs of Ireland, were sufficient to weary the dissipated temper of the king. He was present in every council summoned on the settlement of this kingdom, in order to be acquainted with its several interests, or to persuade the world that if some hardships were to be imposed, they necessarily arose from the perplexities and embarrassments of various defections and usurpations, and from the duty incumbent on his office, of making the best provision for his people, which the state and circumstances of affairs could permit. When he issued his declaration, he was persuaded that there were lands enough to satisfy all parties.

He was now sensible of this mistake. One or other of the discordant interests must suffer; and Charles who considered the settlement of Ireland as an affair rather of policy than justice, was readily persuaded, that the advantage of the crown, and the security of his government required, that the loss should be sustained by the Irish. Any other decision would be condemned by his council, and highly offensive to the English parliament.

THE indiscretion and improvidence of the Irish soon afforded him a plausible reason for this determination, and put an end to all debates about the bill of settlement. They had provoked their adversaries to examine rigorously into the conduct of their party. The charges on each side were violent and indiscriminate, and the great point now urged against the Irish was, a design of casting off all obedience to the crown of England. To shew that this had been their real purpose, the industry of their adversaries had procured, and the protestant agents now presented to the committee for Irish affairs, the original paper of instructions given by the supreme council of Ireland to the bishop of Ferns, and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their agents to the court of Rome, a draft of instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published at James-town. By the instructions it appeared, that the agents were commissioned to make a tender of the kingdom to the pope, and, if he declined it, to any other catholic prince. Those to Rome were signed by Sir Nicholas Plunket, the others were in his hand-writing. With a strange and unpardonable inattention this very Plunket, a noted partizan of the nuncio, a man who received his knighthood from the pope, had been chosen by the Irish party one of their present agents, and now stood before the committee. The papers were read; he acknowledged his signature and writing; they were presented to the king and council, who received them with the utmost indignation. An order was instantly made, that no farther petition or address should

should be received from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as they had been already fully heard; that the bill of settlement should be engrossed without farther delay; and that Sir Nicholas Plunket have notice of the king's pleasure, that he forbear to come into his majesty's presence, or to appear any more at court. Such was the conclusion of debates so long protracted, and so violently agitated. The bill was finished, transmitted, and soon after passed by the Irish houses.

THE arrival of the duke of Ormond was now impatiently expected in Ireland, as the person who was to complete the grand and momentous work of a national settlement. The Irish parliament, in an extraordinary strain of generosity, presented him with the sum of thirty thousand pounds; his son, lord Ossory, was called by writ to the house of lords of Ireland. All men seemed solicitous to express their reverence for a nobleman, who had so long maintained the royal interests under every distress and difficulty, and was so highly and so deservedly the favorite of his royal master. The marriage of the king, the queen's reception, the forming of her court, and other particulars necessary to be adjusted on such an occasion, detained him for some time in London. At length he arrived in Ireland, attended by a magnificent train; and, some time after, gave the royal assent to the bill of settlement, with some others relative to the revenue, and one for abolishing the court of wards. The advantages derived to the crown from this court, were compensated by the tax on hearths and chimneys, according to the precedent lately established in England.

THE act of settlement was not so accurately devised as to guard against every reasonable exception; nor was it possible that any act could be so framed as to satisfy every individual of every party. Many of the provisos inserted in it had been disproved by the Duke of Ormond; and the king would have at once struck out all the provisos, but the

the duke advised that they should stand, as it might not be difficult in the execution of the act to prevent the effect of those which were unreasonable or unjust; and, for this purpose, a clause was inserted empowering the lord lieutenant and council, to give such farther instructions to the commissioners appointed to execute this act-as they should judge fitting. The Irish catholics now added to their former complaints, that they had not been heard before the English council, nor their agents consulted on framing the bill. The forty-nine officers, whose merits were incontestible, found the security of their arrears diminished by this act. Some doubtful expressions in the king's declaration and instructions were indeed explained in their favor; but, although the king had promised to preserve their security entire, yet the earl of Leicester had obtained a proviso for charging it with fifty thousand pounds, which he pleaded to be still due to him as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and colonel of a regiment. Other grants were made in prejudice to their security; but nothing affected it more than one clause, which provided, that the debts due for furnishing the army in Ireland should be all paid out of this security. Even the house of commons acknowledged the severities imposed on these loyal officers; and as soon as the act of settlement had passed their house, ordered a bill of explanation to be brought in, calculated chiefly for their relief.

NOR were the adventurers and soldiers for whom the amplest provision seemed to have been made, less dissatisfied than others. Before the act had been transmitted, several more notorious fanatics, who dreaded to be excepted from all benefit of this act, precipitately sold their interests for trifling sums. No such exception was admitted. But an additional number of Irish nominees was inserted, which was considered by the English puritans as an unpar-donable partiality to the popish interest. The provision made by this act for the established church,

was scarcely less offensive to these men. The regulation of demands made on the doubling ordinance, occasioned a large defalcation from their allotments; and some of their most powerful partizans were defeated in their interested purposes, by the clause enacting that no adventurer should be satisfied for more money than he had really advanced.

THE execution of this act was entrusted to English commissioners, disengaged from all concerns and interests in Ireland; and, therefore, likely to be most impartial: they sat in Dublin to receive claims, and hear proofs of innocency; and, notwithstanding those rigorous qualifications necessary for exculpating the Irish, more of their party were pronounced innocent than their adversaries wished or expected. In the first month of trials, thirty-eight ^{Cox,} persons were pronounced innocent, seven only ^{vol. II.} innocent: in the second seven were condemned, fifty-three acquitted: in the third, seventy-seven were found innocent, five pronounced guilty. These innocents were immediately to be reinvested with their estates, without any provision for reprising those who should be dispossessed; and as the fund for future reprisals was known to be small, the adventurers and soldiers were confounded at these decisions. They had no leisure to reflect, that those of the Irish who were freest from guilt were naturally the most forward to present their claims: and that the proportion of innocents to nocents was so far from being extraordinary, that it was rather extraordinary that any should be found guilty on the first trials. In their fears for their property, they expected to be entirely dispossessed; in their suspicions of the king, they concluded that the commissioners ^{Carte,} were influenced by secret instructions, and that a ^{Orm.} scheme was formed to exalt the Irish upon the ruins of the English interest. The more violent declared for maintaining their possessions by the sword. Such a spirit was quickly caught, and readily propagated. Care had indeed been taken, as in Eng-
land,

land, to model the army, and to disband all those who were most inveterate enemies to monarchy. But, the men thus discharged, served to encrease the number and power of the discontented. The proceedings which indicated so much favor to the Irish, were represented in England with every circumstance of odium and aggravation. Here, the old republicans were impatient of the present form, and provoked at the conduct of government. The act of uniformity had blasted all the hopes of the presbyterians; and the ejection of their pastors was insupportable. It was not only the wildness of some fifth-monarchy men that attempted an insurrection: plots were deeply laid, and schemes deliberately formed, in order to restore the commonwealth. The malcontents naturally turned their eyes to Ireland, where their faction was numerous, enflamed by the apprehension of losing their estates, and encouraged by the divisions and unsettled condition of the kingdom. Agents were sent to try the dispositions of their friends in Ireland, and found them prepared for any desperate purpose. A number of Officers who had served in Cromwell's army were easily encouraged to form a scheme of general insurrection. A private committee was appointed to conduct it; one of which discovered the design to the duke of Ormond. Some of the conspirators, impatient of delay, formed a separate scheme of seizing the castle of Dublin. This too was discovered and defeated.

THE great dependence of the conspirators was on the general dissatisfactions of the English party; and some proceedings of the commons at Dublin served to enflame these dissatisfactions, by countenancing complaints against the commissioners of claims. So many of the Irish had been pronounced restorable, notwithstanding the rigorous qualifications of innocence prescribed by the king's instructions, that they resolved to make these qualifications still more rigorous. They took advantage of the clause in the act of settlement whereby the lieutenant

Ludlow.
vol. III.
p. 166.

Carte,
ut sup.

tenant and council were empowered to give farther directions to the commissioners, and proposed such directions as tended to involve the whole Irish party in inevitable condemnation. To enforce their advice and request, the whole house attended the lord lieutenant; and their speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, in his usual inflated style, pronounced a solemn comment on every article of the petition. It was received with cold civility: the commons resolved to appeal to the public: Mervyn's speech was printed; and its quaintness and figurative obscurity were not ill calculated for the time, and the temper of the people. Not contented with this step, and not finding that their directions were adopted, the commons proceeded farther; and, by an invidious resolution declared, "that they would apply their utmost remedies to prevent and stop the great manifold prejudices and inconveniences which daily did, and were like to happen to the protestants of Ireland, by the proceedings of the commissioners for executing the act of settlement." Journ. of the H. of Com. of Ireland, vol. II. p. 232. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 265.

THIS violence of the commons was resented by the king, and Mervyn's speech did not pass unnoticed. Some offensive passages were discovered in it; one particularly, in which he asserted, that "this is the critical time in which religion, the established religion, is in danger of being undermined, by tasting the predominancy of temper upon a popish interest." Prosecutions were commenced against the printers of this speech both in London and Dublin. The lord lieutenant, in a letter to the commons, represented the bad consequences of their vote, as well as the indiscretions of their speaker; by which, particularly, the conspirators had been encouraged in their late attempt upon the castle of Dublin, as if the protestant interest and religion were in danger. They were so far intimidated, that they retracted their vote, and declared their abhorrence of the fanatic plot; yet, their answer to the duke was sufficiently dignified, and soon followed by an address, representing the

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danger arising from recusants, and the confluence of popish priests, friars, and jesuits, and recommending bills for enforcing the oaths of supremacy, and banishing all popish ecclesiastics from the kingdom.

A. D.
1663,

Orm.
vol. II:
p. 266—
270;

BUT Ormond was now to guard against other dangers and other enemies. His discovery of the plot for surprising the castle of Dublin, did not put a stop to the more general scheme of insurrection. Meetings were still held in the capital; correspondences maintained with different parts of the kingdom, and especially the northern province, arms, and ammunition prepared, and numbers of disbanded soldiers engaged. Some lawyers, several presbyterian ministers, Blood, who was afterwards so distinguished in London, some members of the Irish commons, and several republican officers embarked in this design. Declarations were printed, and ready to be dispersed, encouraging all good protestants to unite for securing the English interest, averting the danger with which the three nations were threatened by the countenance given to popery, confirming the English subjects of Ireland in the estates they had purchased, by their services, and establishing religion agreeably to the solemn league and covenant.

THE zeal of these conspirators so far outran their discretion, that intimations of their purposes and proceedings were from time to time conveyed to the duke of Ormond. The utmost circumspection was necessary on his part, for however the common people submitted peaceably, or were well disposed to the present government, the army was still disaffected, and discontented. Sir Arthur Forbes was sent into Ulster, where he soon discovered the design of an immediate insurrection, boldly ventured to seize one of the principal conspirators, though surrounded by his friends, and so intimidated the whole party by his spirited procedure, that the accomplices fled to Scotland. An attempt was made to engage Sir Theophilus Jones in this enterprize, and the whole
scheme

scheme was rashly communicated to him. He instantly conveyed his information to the lieutenant; so that on the eve of the day appointed for seizing the castle of Dublin, and publishing their declaration, about five and twenty conspirators were seized, and a reward published for the apprehension of those who escaped. A weak government deemed it necessary to proceed with lenity against delinquents who had engaged in a popular cause. A few were condemned and executed, the rest received the king's pardon.

THE discontents of the English parliament; and the profusion of the king, disabled him from sending remittances to Ireland, and making those provisions for a military establishment, which the security of his administration in this kingdom required. The state of property was still unsettled and disordered. Several insufficiencies were foreseen in the act of settlement, many others were discovered in the execution of it. The explanatory bill prepared by the commons was rejected. The king refused to accept of any scheme for a final accommodation of all interests, formed by an assembly which had given him unfavorable impressions of their temper, and which he had some thoughts of dissolving. He referred the whole affair to the lord lieutenant and council, and directed that they should prepare an entirely new bill. They proceeded with the caution necessary in a point so important, so delicate and difficult; where they were to consider not only what might be demanded on the principles of strict justice, but what in the present circumstances of the kingdom might be practicable and attainable, not what every individual of every party might expect; but a provision for the general welfare, as equitable and extensive as could be obtained from the English council and the Irish parliament. The purport of their bill, as transmitted from Ireland, was to explain some clauses in the declaration; to assign a better security to the forty-nine officers; to prevent the re-
stitutio

stitution of Irish lands and houses in corporations; to increase the stock of reprisals, by taking away a sixth part from adventurers and soldiers, and by other expedients, and to make provision for some deserving persons, whom the court of claims had not been able to relieve, by the determination of their power. In this particular there was a fairer demand for redress, as scarcely more than six hundred out of four thousand claims of innocency had been decided by this court.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 295.

THE bill was attended by agents from the different parties. They were heard before the council; memorials and replies presented; while individuals practised secretly with some men in power, particularly colonel Richard Talbot, who, for valuable considerations, engaged to obtain provisos in their favor. In the perplexity arising from various claimants and petitioners, the king wished to be assisted by the duke of Ormond. To enable him to provide for the security of his government, some money was remitted for payment of the army; levies were made in Ireland for the service of Portugal; one thousand of the most disaffected among the soldiery were thus drawn away, and replaced by troops from England. After these precautions, it was thought that the duke might be spared for some time without hazard. He was called into England, and his son, the earl of Ossory, appointed lord deputy during his absence.

ORMOND had already laboured to form the new explanatory bill, in such a manner as to make the best provision for the several interests that could probably be obtained in the present state of affairs, and disposition of parties. To apply some remedy to the striking grievance of a number of Irish claimants abandoned to ruin, merely for want of the common justice of being heard, he had proposed, that the lord lieutenant and six of the privy council of Ireland should be empowered to nominate such other persons as innocents, of whose constant loyalty they had sufficient knowledge, and who should be
thus

thus entitled to the same advantages with those who were pronounced innocent by the court of claims. ^{Carta. Orm. vol. II. p. 301.} But this proposal was rejected by the English council; and, on his arrival in London, he found all parties ^{A. D. 1661.} complaining, all weary of their unsettled condition, harassed by expence and trouble, anxious for the event, and all disposed to relax something of their several pretensions, in order to obtain a final settlement. The London adventurers, a considerable and powerful body, wearied out by tedious disputes, proposed to resign their lands to the king, and to account for the *mesne* profits, on condition of being reimbursed their principal money, with interest upon interest, at the rate of three pounds *per cent.* the adventurers and soldiers in Ireland proposed to cut off all adventurers who had issued their money after the rupture between the late king and parliament; the forty-nine officers consented to accept ten shillings in the pound for their composition. It was discovered by the diligence of Sir William Domville, attorney-general of Ireland, that one entire moiety of the adventurers' money had been subscribed and paid, subsequent to the doubling ordinance; and, consequently, that one half of the lands set out to them ought to be retrenched. Great abuses were detected in the manner of setting out their satisfaction, in which the proceedings were clandestine and confused. In measurements, in returns of unprofitable lands, in various particulars, there appeared room for correction and amendment, so as probably to encrease the stock of reprisals, and to dispose the several parties to reasonable concessions.

THE English council had ordered, that the lord lieutenant, calling to his assistance such of the privy counsellors of Ireland as were in London, the commissioners of claims, and the solicitor-general, (Sir Heneage Finch) should review what had been already deliberated relative to the affairs of Ireland, and offer such farther expedients as they should think

think fit, in order to the settlement of that kingdom. Almost ten months were spent in hearing and answering vast numbers of petitions, and in considering the provisos * to be inserted in the new bill.

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* One proviso in favor of the marquis of Antrim was a subject of particular clamour and complaint.—We have already seen the conduct of this nobleman, down to his opposition to the peace made by Ormond with the Irish. He was afterwards accused of being a spy on the royalists, of conveying intelligence to Jones and Ireton, of corresponding with Cromwel, of aspersing the memory of the late king, by charging him with encouraging the Irish rebellion, and of a treacherous opposition to his present majesty when in Scotland. Soon after the restoration he was committed to the Tower: but, as no charge was proved against him, he was released, and sent to Ireland to abide his trial. He absolutely denied the charge of aspersing the late king; he called on the queen-mother to attest; that his intercourse with the rebels was by the late king's direction, and for his service; and, as he received no censure in Ireland, the king, in consideration of his services to Montrose, and at the pressing instances of the queen-mother, allowed a clause to be inserted in the act of settlement, confirming the disposition he had made of his estate in trust for payment of his debts.

But the present possessors of his lands were to be reprimed; and nothing but a positive establishment of his innocency could immediately eject them. The queen-mother was earnest and incessant in her applications; the king wrote to Ormond, that he should move the Irish council to transmit a bill for restoring Antrim to his estate. The council were unanimous that such a bill ought not to be transmitted. Antrim addressed himself by petition to the king; his cause was heard before the English council; they found him "innocent from any malice or rebellious purposes, and that his correspondence with the Irish was in order to the service of the late king, and warranted by his instructions." A certificate of this sentence was by the king transmitted to the lord lieutenant and council at Dublin, with an order for communicating it to the commissioners of claims. Ormond and his council remonstrated against this order. The adventurers petitioned against the favor intended for a man, whose guilt in opposing every accommodation with the Irish, and joining with the nuncio against the royal interest, was so notorious. But the intercessions in favor of Antrim were too powerful to be resisted. A new certificate was obtained from the king, addressed immediately to the commissioners; and Antrim, thus fortified, appeared before the court of claims. Some of the judges were of opinion, to adjudge him innocent at once, on the authority of the king's certificate; others

The agents of the several interests offered their proposals, pleaded, objected, contended, and complained. It was at length proposed on the part of the Irish catholics, that for the satisfaction of their interests, the adventurers and soldiers should resign one-third of the lands respectively, enjoyed by them on the seventh day of May, 1659. The proposal was accepted; one-third of all the king's grants (with some exceptions) retrenched; and, on this principle, with consent of all the agents, the bill of explanation was at length framed, and presented to the privy council. Nothing remained but the addition of twenty persons to the list of nominees, whom the king was to restore to their estates, and, who were to be particularly mentioned in the new act. The choice of these was assigned to the duke of Ormond: and it was an office which could not but expose him to resentment and obloquy. Through the whole business of the settlement, he had acted a disinterested and honorable part. He had given up his own rights to facilitate a general accommodation; the debts and mortgages on his estate, which

others contended for hearing the evidence against him: the evidence was heard, and clearly proved his guilt; yet the majority of the commissioners refused to decide in opposition to the king's testimony, and pronounced the marquis innocent.

This decision was to the last degree unpopular and odious. The adventurers and soldiers petitioned the king for relief against it, stating the evidence which had appeared against the marquis, in its full force. The king superseded the decree of the commissioners: he declared, that he saw no reason why they should rest their judgment on his certificate, which only declared the authority and purpose of Antrim's intercourse with the Irish, without any justification of his subsequent conduct. He directed, that the marquis should abide a new trial. Antrim well knew the event of such a trial; he now acknowledged his guilt, and petitioned to be supported by the king's mercy, since he could not be supported by his own innocence. Here the interposition of his powerful friends prevailed; and, by the act of explanation, he was restored to his estate. CARTER, QUER. vol. II. p. 277. COUNCIL BOOKS OF IRELAND, M. S.

which were contracted in the public service, he generously discharged, though forfeited to the king, and granted to him by the act of settlement. But the Irish, in the bitterness of their disappointments, had no leisure to discover the merit of his conduct. It was declared in the new bill, that the protestants were, in the first place, and especially to be settled, and that any ambiguity was to be interpreted in the sense most favorable to their interests. It was also provided, that no Papist, who by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent, should at any future time be reputed innocent, or entitled to claim any lands or settlements. Thus, every remaining hope of those numerous claimants whose causes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and subornation in the causes that had been tried before the commissioners of claims; though such wicked practices were probably not confined to one party. But their great and striking grievance was, that more than three thousand persons were condemned, without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial. Of this number, though many, and probably the greater part, would have been declared nocent, yet several cases were undoubtedly pitiable; and now, twenty only were to be restored by especial favor. The Irish pleaded their several merits, and, in judging for themselves, each claimed a preference. Those nominated by Ormond were allowed to be innocent; but others were equally worthy of favor, and could impute their disappointment only to the partiality of the lieutenant.

Irish Stat.
17 and 18
Car. II.
cap. 2.
A. D.
1665.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 304.

Ibid.
p. 314.

AND, however grievous the Irish deemed this explanatory bill, and however favorable it appeared to the new interest, yet, when brought to Ireland by the duke, it proved by no means acceptable to the commons. Some objected to it as not sufficiently secure; some found themselves not so well provided for as they thought their merits had deserved;

served; or, as others, whom they deemed not more meritorious than themselves; and some perhaps, were ready to reject every mode of settlement, in order to involve the nation in new disorders. Ormond could not venture to lay the bill immediately before a house of Commons composed of such tempers, and who had discovered such turbulence in their former session. He first determined, that the vacant seats should be supplied, and laboured to procure members acceptable to government. In the mean time, nothing was so proper to employ them as the late plot, to which their own proceedings had given countenance. Several of their members, and even Mervyn, their speaker, were said to have taken some part in it; so that to remove all suspicions of his own conduct, every man was obliged to distinguish himself, by his zeal against the conspirators. On the first day of their session, a letter from the king to the duke of Ormond was laid before them, condemning their former proceedings and votes relative to the commissioners of claims. Terrified with the fears of a dissolution, and a new parliament less friendly to their interests, they made the humblest submission to the king, acknowledged their errors, retracted their proceedings, and inveighed against the conspiracy. Seven of their members accused as accomplices, were instantly suspended from sitting in the house. They pleaded his majesty's pardon; yet, on examination of the evidence against them, they were expelled, and declared incapable of serving in the present, or any future parliament. A bill was prepared to disqualify them for holding any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; the lord lieutenant approved this zeal, and now entrusted them with the act of explanation.

In their debates on this interesting subject, their doubts and objections were freely proposed and considered, collected, and laid before the lord lieutenant in a petition. He exhorted them not to dwell minutely on niceties and scruples, at a time when

Journ. of the H. of Com. of Ireland. vol. II. p. 230—256.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 315.

their enemies, both abroad and at home, might be contriving the ruin of the three kingdoms. He alarmed them with some advertisements he had received from lord Arlington, of an invasion intended by France in favor of the Hollanders, now at war with England. He assured them, that as the lieutenant and council were empowered to explain any difficulties, and to amend any defects in the act, every thing should be explained and amended agreeably to their wishes, and all obstructions to the happy settlement of the kingdom removed, if necessary, by new bills, to which he doubted not of his majesty's gracious consent. His answer was voted satisfactory; and without one dissenting voice, they passed this famous act, which fixed the general rights of the several interests in Ireland, and established a final and invariable rule for the settlement of this kingdom.

YET this was but the beginning of the great work of settlement. The rest depended on the execution of the act, and the application of the rule to particular cases. Five commissioners were appointed, who, in all matters of difficulty, were to resort to the lord lieutenant and council. An infinite number of perplexed cases produced perpetual applications to the state; and gave, for years, continual employment to the duke of Ormond, in providing for the impartial execution of this act, and defeating the attempts of those who laboured to evade it, by procuring grants and letters from the king.

A. D.
1666.

SCARCELY had the act of explanation passed, when the English commons seemed to envy that prosperity of the subjects of Ireland, which the settlement of this kingdom promised; and, notwithstanding all the solicitude expressed for the interests of a new colony of their fellow-subjects, resolved on a measure calculated at once to mortify and distress them.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 317.

It was found, that the rents of England had of late years decreased to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds annually. The causes of this alarming

alarming decrease were, many of them, sufficiently obvious. Persecution had driven numbers of industrious puritans to Holland and the American plantations; the trade with Spain had been diminished and interrupted; a ruinous commerce carried on with France, in which the balance against England amounted to near a million yearly. The war with Holland had produced new obstructions to trade. The plague had lessened the consumption of provisions; and even the gaiety and dissipation of the court had contributed to the public distress, by seducing the nobility to London, and suppressing the old hospitality of the country. But the interested views of some great men, who wished to embarrass the administration of Ormond, and to drive him from the government of Ireland, conspired with that disposition which the English nation hath at some times discovered, of exerting a severity over the inferior members of their empire, and taught the commons to ascribe the decrease of rents to another cause, the importation of Irish cattle. The annual value of the cattle sent to England, was far short of the deficiency discovered in the value of lands; and, before the troubles of England, far greater numbers had been imported without any complaints, or any decrease of rents: yet the English commons, in a violent, and almost unaccountable rage of oppression, had no leisure to attend to such considerations. So early as the year 1663, they had passed a temporary act for prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July in every year. The inconveniences of this restraint to both countries, were represented in the strongest terms to the king. But in proportion as he seemed convinced of the impropriety of this measure, the commons were the more enflamed. In the parliament held at Oxford, in the year 1665, a bill was brought in for a perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle from Ireland, dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean.

In vain did Sir Heneage Finch oppose the bill by arguments drawn from natural justice; from the rights of Englishmen, to which the subjects of Ireland were entitled: from the misery to which it must reduce the whole kingdom of Ireland; from the mischiefs which must arise from forcing the Irish to trade with other countries. In vain was it urged, that the bill would destroy a trade highly advantageous to England, which, in return for provisions and rude materials, sent back every species of manufacture; that the industrious inhabitants of England, when deprived of Irish provisions, must augment the price of labour, and thus render their manufactures too dear to be exported; while those of Ireland, finding the value of provisions reduced, would be the less inclined to labour, and in danger of falling into the ancient barbarism of the country; that they could not pay taxes, nor maintain the forces necessary for the security of government: all these and other powerful arguments, were totally disregarded. Some gentlemen of Ireland appeared in behalf of their country, but were refused a copy of the bill. It passed the commons by a small majority. In the lords it was opposed, particularly by the earl of Castlehaven. Sir William Petty was heard before their committee, and pleaded the cause of a country in which, by his abilities and diligence, he had acquired a considerable interest. The report was delayed, and the parliament prorogued.

In the mean time, Ireland experienced the greatest distress; deprived of its usual trade with England; and disabled from any foreign commerce by the want of shipping, and the war with France and Holland; exposed to the attempts both of secret and open enemies, and every moment in danger of some violent insurrections, by the calamities and discontents of its inhabitants. The duke of Ormond was wary, vigilant, and diligent. He watched the proceedings of the popish party, and the futile attempts of the most turbulent of their clergy, to engage

engage France in a descent on Ireland. With equal assiduity he laboured to discover the correspondence of the fanatics with those of England and Scotland. He every day received information of some secret practices or conspiracies, but received them at once with caution and magnanimity, without neglecting the proper measures for security, and without provoking the discontented.

THE complaints of the soldiery for want of pay, was one great encouragement to the disaffected to form their schemes of insurrection, from a confidence, that the army would readily favor their designs. The garrison mutinied at Carrickfergus, seized the town and castle, and acted with such desperate resolution as proved highly alarming to government in this time of danger. The earl of Arran, son to the duke of Ormond, was sent by sea to reduce them. The duke himself marched against them with the few forces on whose attachment he could rely. After some resistance, the mutineers surrendered: one hundred and ten were tried by a court martial, nine executed, and the companies to which they belonged were instantly disbanded. This petty commotion, with the rumours of vast preparations made in France for a descent on Ireland, procured the duke a supply from the English treasury of fifteen thousand pounds. He was thus enabled to give some content to the army, and to execute a scheme he had projected of establishing a body of militia in the provinces. As the French were expected to make their attempt on Munster, he visited this province, examined the state of its towns and forts on the coast, arrayed and armed the militia, a body of the greater consequence, as composed principally of veterans, whose valor and experience were well approved. From these cares he was recalled to Dublin, in order to prevent any commotion to which the disaffected might be encouraged by intelligence of the fire of London. A contribution for relief of the sufferers by this dreadful incident, was proposed by the lord lieutenant, and cheerfully

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 329—
337.

cheerfully adopted by the privy council, nobility, and gentry of Ireland. Thirty thousand beeves, the only riches which the country now afforded, were subscribed for this purpose. But however pure and disinterested were the motives to this bounty, in England it received a malignant interpretation, and was industriously represented as a political contrivance to defeat the prohibition of Irish cattle.

THE experience of three years had now proved the effects of restraining the importation of cattle from Ireland. The rents of England had not increased; Ireland was so reduced as to be unable to pay the subsidies granted by parliament. But Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, and their party, had already vowed the destruction of the chancellor, and hated his friend Ormond, whose views and principles were so opposite to their own, and whose influence was a dangerous obstacle to that scheme of power which they meditated. Discontents were to be raised in Ireland; these might afford some pretence for removing their rival from his government; perhaps, some plausible ground of an impeachment. The passions of undiscerning men were easily enflamed. People were in general persuaded, that all their distress arose from the importation of Irish cattle; the northern and western members of the commons in particular, were transported to the utmost violence, and the bill of prohibition was eagerly resumed.

THE king had expressed his utter abhorrence of this bill, and passionately declared, that it never should receive his assent. The commons, on whom he depended for the maintenance of his war, were the more determined to mortify him with a full conviction of their superior power; by declaring in the preamble to the bill, that the importation of Irish cattle was a NUISANCE, they precluded him from attempting any dispensing power in favor of the Irish subjects. They passed the bill in a rage of obstinacy, without the least attention to argument or reason.

reason. In the lords it was amended, particularly by inserting the words "detriment and mischief," in the place of "nuisance." When returned to the commons, their violence seemed to be suddenly allayed. Intelligence was received of an insurrection in Scotland; they began to discern some danger in exasperating Ireland: but the insurrection was quelled, and Ireland was again deemed insignificant. They insisted on their preamble; and, in a conference between the committees of both houses, neither seemed disposed to recede. Ashley, with an affected moderation, proposed, that instead of calling the importation a nuisance, it might be declared to be felony, or a premunire. The chancellor suggested an amendment equally reasonable, and observed, that it might as properly be declared, "adultery."

THROUGH the whole proceedings on this bill the lords carried on their debates with all the violence of men contending for their lives, with a shameful contempt of the order and dignity of their house. The duke of Buckingham, with all the plebeian meanness of national reflection, exclaimed, "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings." This produced a challenge from lord Ossory, the admired and popular son of the duke of Ormond, which Buckingham declined to accept, chusing rather to complain to the house; and Ossory was sent to the Tower. The young earl was not dismayed. When Ashley inveighed against the Irish subscription, and all concerned in promoting it, Ossory observed, that "such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's counsellors." The partizans on each side caught the flame, and several lords seemed on the point of drawing the sword against each other. The commons, apparently less enflamed, but inflexibly determined, refused to alter their preamble. Rather than resign their favorite expression, they resolved to give up the bill, and to introduce it without any amendments as a proviso to the bill of assess-

assessments. They even offered to the lords interested in Irish estates, that if they would consent to their preamble, a year's liberty should be given for the importation of cattle. The king was alarmed at this obstinacy, and the danger of losing his supplies. He directed his servants in the house of lords to consent to the word "nuisance;" and thus decided the fate of this bill. In giving it the royal assent, he could not forbear expressing his resentment at the jealousy conceived against him.

A. D.
1667.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 345.

THE English nation soon felt the inconveniences of an act, which wantonly put an end to an advantageous commerce. Discerning men saw the happy consequences which it must, in time, produce to Ireland. For the present, however, the Irish subjects were cast into despair. All commerce was interrupted; war made it necessary to guard against invasion: subsidies were due, but no money could be found. Ormond thought it both necessary and convenient to accept part of these subsidies in provisions, consulting at once the king's service and the ease of his distressed subjects. Nor was the king ill-disposed to alleviate the present difficulties of Ireland. With the consent of his council, obtained not without some reluctance, he, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majesty. He permitted the Irish, at the same time, to retaliate on the Scots, who, copying from England, had prohibited their cattle, corn, and beef. The importation of linen and woollen manufactures, stockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland.

THE exportation of Irish wool was prohibited by law, except to England by particular licence of the chief governor. Yet, in the order of council for free exportation, wool was not excepted. The lords who had contended for the most unreasonable restraints on Ireland, and were declared enemies to Ormond,

Ormond, admitted in their debates, that wool should be included in the exportable articles. Such was their ignorance of the affairs of this kingdom, and such their inattention to the interests of England. Ormond suspected that some snare was laid, and some pretence sought for a future accusation, should he take too great liberties in an affair so delicate. Wool was not mentioned in the proclamation, nor would he consent to grant particular licences for exporting it. The Irish, forced by a necessity, which breaks through all laws and restraints, conveyed their wool by stealth to foreign countries, and have experienced the advantages of this clandestine commerce.

BUT the most effectual measure, which the Irish subjects could pursue to elude the violence of an oppressive law, was that of applying themselves to manufacture, and working up their own commodities; and in this they were countenanced and encouraged by the noble spirit of their chief governor.

MEN of abilities and knowledge in commerce were encouraged to suggest their schemes for promoting industry, and preventing the necessity of foreign importation. Sir Peter Pett presented a memorial to the duke of Ormond, for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth, which might at least furnish a sufficient quantity for home consumption. He chiefly recommended the making fine worsted stockings, and Norwich stuffs, which might not only keep money in the country, but be so improved, as to bring considerable sums from abroad. He offered to procure workmen from Norwich: the council of trade lately established in Ireland, approved of his proposal; the duke of Ormond encouraged it, and erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his county-palatine of Tipperary. To supply the scarcity of workmen, Grant, (a man well known by his observations on the bills of mortality) was employed to procure five hundred Walloon protestant families from Canterbury to remove to Ireland. At the same time, colonel Richard

Carte.
Orin.
vol. II.
p. 340.

Lawrence, another ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the business of combing wool, and making frizes. A manufacture of this kind was established at Carrick, a town belonging to the duke.

BUT of all such schemes of national improvement, that of a linen manufacture was most acceptable to Ormond. He possessed himself with the noble ambition of imitating the earl of Strafford in the most honorable part of his conduct, and opening a source of public wealth and prosperity, which the troubles and disorders of Ireland had stopped. An act of parliament was passed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of sending skillful persons to the Low-Countries, to make observations on the state of this trade, the manner of working, the way of whitening their thread, the regulations of their manufacture, and management of their grounds, and to contract with some of their most experienced artists. He engaged Sir William Temple to send to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen, others were procured from Rochelle and the isle of Ré, from Jersey and the neighbouring parts of France. Convenient tenements were prepared for the artificers at Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, where cordage, sail-cloth, ticken, linen, and diaper, were brought to a considerable degree of perfection. Such cares reflect real honor on the governor, who thus labored to promote the happiness of a nation, and should be recorded with pleasure and gratitude, however we may be captivated by the more glaring objects of history.

NOR was this excellent governor less assiduous to cultivate knowledge and learning in Ireland, so as to root out that superstition by which the country had been enslaved, and to introduce that civility and refinement which give respect and consequence to a nation. On the restoration of the king, he found

found the university of Dublin in the utmost disorder, naturally resulting from the public confusions. Doctor Jeremiaſh Taylor, the pious and learned biſhop of Down, was entrusted with the regulation of this ſeminary. The lord lieutenant wiſely deemed it an important object of his adminiſtration, to inſpect the diſcipline, to encourage the ſtudies, and to promote the intereſts both of the body and its particular members. When his enemies in England attempted to diſmiſh his conſequence, by prevailing on the king to nominate an Engliſhman to an Iriſh biſhopric, without his concurrence or recommendation, he thus expreſſed his ſentiments to the ſecretary of ſtate.

“ It is fit that it be remembered, that near this
 “ city (of Dublin) there is an univerſity of the
 “ foundation of queen Elizabeth, principally in-
 “ tended for the education and advantage of the
 “ natives of this kingdom, which hath produced
 “ men very eminent for learning and piety, and
 “ thoſe of this nation. And ſuch there are now in
 “ this church; ſo that while there are ſo, the paſſing
 “ them by is not only in ſome meaſure a violation
 “ of the original intention and inſtitution, but a
 “ great diſcouragement to the natives from making
 “ themſelves capable and fit for preferments in
 “ the church; whereunto (if they have equal parts)
 “ they are better able to do ſervice than ſtrangers,
 “ their knowledge of the country, and their rela-
 “ tions in it giving them the advantage. The pro-
 “ motion too of fitting perſons already dignified or
 “ benefited, will make room for, and conſequently
 “ encourage young men, ſtudents in this univerſity;
 “ which room will be loſt, and the inferior clergy
 “ much diſheartened, if upon the vacancy of biſhop-
 “ ries, perſons unknown to the kingdom and uni-
 “ verſity ſhall be ſent to fill them, and to be leſs uſe-
 “ ful there to church and kingdom than thoſe who
 “ are better acquainted with both.”

* * * * *

WHILE

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 356.

WHILE the duke of Ormond employed his power in Ireland to the noblest purposes, his enemies in England laboured incessantly to disgrace him. His friend the chancellor, had already fallen, Buckingham was impatient to complete his triumph, by supplanting Ormond in his posts of steward of the household and lieutenant of Ireland. The obstacle to this design arising from the general esteem and popularity which the duke enjoyed, was, if possible to be removed, by finding out some ground of accusation in his conduct; and, for this purpose, the most malicious industry was used. They, whom Ormond had offended in his government, by denying their unreasonable requests, became the willing instruments in the design of Buckingham. It was notorious, that he had given a commission for trying the mutineers at Carricfergus by martial law, in what his enemies called a time of peace, when an invasion was expected, when the mutinous troops had levied war, seized the king's forts, and maintained them by force of arms. An obsolete Irish law was discovered of the eighteenth year of Henry the Sixth, whereby it was enacted, that "no lord, "nor any other of what condition soever, shall "bring or lead hoblers, kearns, or hooded-men, "neither English rebels nor Irish enemies, nor any "o'her people, nor horses, to live upon the king's "subjects without their consents, but upon their "own costs, and without doing hurt to the commons of the county; and if any do so, he shall "be adjudged a traitor. Hence it was inferred, that the chief governor could not by law issue warrants for quartering soldiers on Dublin; and that Ormond (who was no barbarous lord, or leader of rebels, disguised ruffians, or enemies to the royal authority) had incurred the guilt of high-treason, by maintaining the king's guards, and quartering the troops necessary for the safety of his government, agreeably to the usage of his predecessors. These two grand points of delinquency, with others still more frivolous, were formed into twelve articles

of

of impeachment, which Buckingham and his creatures displayed in the utmost triumph.

THE king expressed some indignation at these attempts against the duke of Ormond, and a resolution to support him, yet seemed to discover the secret influence of Buckingham, by declining to send him any approbation of his conduct in quartering soldiers, or any directions for the future, leaving him entirely to the guidance of his own judgment, and to abide the hazard of any erroneous procedure. In Ireland the discourses of the disaffected were bold and unrestrained, and their expectations suited to their wishes. They, who in times past allowed no benefit of laws to others, now clamoured for a strict and literal adherence to law. An opposition was made in many towns to quartering the army; while Ormond, with an undaunted attention to the security of the kingdom, continued to issue and enforce his warrants. In England every idle complaint of misconduct in the Irish government was eagerly received. Not only the enemies, but the friends of the lieutenant, were tempted to furnish materials for accusing him. The earl of Anglesey rejected the overtures of Buckingham with indignation, and gave Ormond notice of the designs formed against him. The earl of Orrery, who now enjoyed the presidential government of Munster, and seems to have aspired to the chief government of Ireland, was not actuated by the same generous resolution. He wavered between his dread of Ormond's power and sense of his integrity, and a desire of recommending himself to the English ministry. After some formal professions of friendship, he was gradually seduced into the purposes of those who sought the ruin of the duke. The earl prepared for a voyage to England; Ormond, dreading the insinuations of a disguised enemy, resolved to repair to the English court, and once more committed the government of Ireland to his amiable and gallant son, the earl of Ossory.

Ibid.
p. 367.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 374.

On the arrival of the duke in London, he found the efforts to disgrace him still violent, notwithstanding the fair professions of Buckingham, his capital enemy. If the king felt no gratitude for his services, he was at least not totally divested of shame, and could not at once consent to abandon a servant so distinguished by his attachment. Attempts were made to possess him with an opinion, that great mismanagements had prevailed in the revenue of Ireland, a point which, in the present necessities of the crown, it was supposed would irritate him most violently against his lieutenant. A long enquiry was held, and no ground of accusation against Ormond could be discovered. Insidious attempts were made to bring him to a voluntary resignation of his government; when these proved ineffectual, the king was wearied with incessant applications to consent to his removal; and the cabal was by this time grown too powerful to be refused. On the repeated rumours of his disgrace, Ormond repeatedly expostulated with the king. Charles reiterated the warmest assurances of attachment and protection. In one of their last interviews, the duke was received with such apparent cordiality of affection, as persuaded him that his royal master was firmly determined to support him against all his enemies, and unalterable in his resolution of continuing him governor of Ireland. He was instantly informed, that the day before this audience, the king had positively promised the duke of Buckingham and his friends that he would remove him. He again expostulated, and Charles now ventured to confess, that he had entertained some thoughts of such a measure. Lord Arlington was immediately afterwards employed to acquaint the duke of Ormond in form, that his majesty intended to appoint a new lieutenant of Ireland, lord Roberts, lord privy-seal.

ORMOND could not entirely impute this change to personal enmity. He had discernment to discover

ver

cover*, that it must be attended with some extraordinary consequences, though he could not fathom the designs of the men now in power; designs, which for the present lay deeply concealed, and whose operation was necessarily interrupted. Lord Carte, Roberts was employed entirely for the purpose of scrutinizing the conduct of his predecessor; but could not, by all his diligence, discover any solid objections to the government of the duke, and had too

* Immediately after his removal, the duke thus expressed himself in a letter to Sir Arthur Forbes.

"SIR,

White-Hall. 15 March, 68.

"I hope you have bin acquainted with as much as could bee need-
ful to your information, from what I have written to my sonne Ossory,
for you are in the first ranke of those friends with whome I advised
him to consult in what might relate to the king's service, and the in-
terest of my family, which nether have, nor ever shall bee seperated,
though this alteration in government of that kingdome was contrived
to that end by those who have so long laboured with the king in it.
All that is *past*, is or will be known to you, when you have conver-
sed with this gentleman. But if you are curious to know what *will bee*,
you must a make journey to Donaghadee, or further into Scotland,
where predictions are more plentiful. In earnest, no rules of ordinary
foresight will now serve the time. But those of honesty and loyalty are
in all events safe, provided they are assisted by prudence and indus-
try. I am, with all truth and reality, your most affectionate humble
servant,

ORMOND."

(From the ORIGINAL.)

To lord Ossory he spake his suspicions yet clearer, although they were the suspicions of a man, not acquainted with the true secret of affairs. "If I am not much mistaken," said he, "there is a purpose to strike at the (duke of York's) command in the admiralty;—and that the aim is to drive him, by lessening his authority, to intemperate resentments, of which they will be ready to make some use. When I say *they*, I mean the duke of Bucks, your brother Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, who, I think, have prevailed on the keeper to be instrumental. All these do equally fear the duke should have credit with the king.—As for the duke of Bucks, I am confident he not only undervalues, but hates the king's person and his brother's, and has designs a part, if not aimed at the ruin of them both." CARTE, ORM. vol. II. p. 377.

A. D.
169.

too much integrity to malign him. His temper was sullen, his address and deportment solemn, ungraceful, and the more disgusting, as the Irish subjects had been habituated to the affable and conciliating manners of the duke of Ormond. By affecting to administer his government on principles different from those of his predecessor, he exposed himself to odium and contempt. Despised in Ireland, and useless to his faction in England, he was speedily recalled, and John, lord Berkley of Stratton nominated his successor.

C H A P. IV.

Scheme for supporting the popish interest in Ireland. . . . History of the Irish REMONSTRANCE. . . . Insolence of Peter Talbot. . . . Partiality of lord Berkley to the anti-remonstrants. . . . Other instances of favor to the popish party. . . . Terror of Protestants. . . . Attempts to rescind the acts of settlement. . . . Spirited interposition of the English parliament. . . . Lord Berkley succeeded by the earl of Essex. . . . His administration. . . . Essex recalled. . . . Interval of the duke of Ormond's disgrace. . . . Attempt on his life. . . . Attacks on his reputation. . . . His temperate conduct. . . . Ormond suddenly restored to favor, . . . and to the government of Ireland. . . . His administration. . . . The popish plot. . . . Peter Talbot seized. . . . Ormond's measures for the security of his government. . . . Complaints of his conduct. . . . He is censured by lord Shaftesbury in the house of lords. . . . Reply of the earl of Ossory. . . . Attempts to remove the duke of Ormond. . . . Evidences of a popish plot encouraged. . . . Accused persons conveyed to London. . . . Trial of Oliver Plunket. . . . Attempts against Ormond renewed. . . . He is recalled to England. . . . Designs, of the king and duke of York. . . . Ormond suddenly removed. . . . Earl of Rochester named lord lieutenant of Ireland. . . . Death of Charles the Second.

THE administration of lord Berkley opened a new and an alarming scene in Ireland. He is said to have been made chief governor by the influence of the popish party, and from a thorough conviction of his attachment to their interests. However this may be, he was a creature of the duke of Buckingham, and another creature, Sir Ellis Leighton, attended him as his secretary, to be a spy upon his conduct, and to keep him firm to the purposes of the present English ministry.

A. D. 1670.
Memoirs of Ireland, from Restor. p. 8.
Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 413.

* The design of erecting arbitrary power upon the basis of popery was already formed ; and, though deeply concealed, and cautiously and gradually developed in England, yet it was deemed neither indiscreet nor dangerous to make the first experiment in Ireland, with a contemptuous indifference to the principles and passions of its English inhabitants

SOME of the most powerful and factious partizans of the popish interest immediately followed lord Berkley into Ireland. And scarcely had he been seated in the chair of government, when their influence was discovered, by the conduct of the new lieutenant, to the more odious and dangerous of those parties into which the Irish Roman catholics were divided, and, by the countenance which, contrary to his public instructions, he shewed to those called ANTI-REMONSTRANTS, of whom it is here necessary to give some account.

FROM the days of Elizabeth, the measure of obedience due by papists to the civil power was a question frequently agitated in their schools and conventions. An enquiry into the nature and extent of the papal authority was necessarily involved in it ; and, in these momentous points, the learned of their communion were by no means agreed. Several professed and taught a civil obedience to the queen ; and hence, in all her wars, several of the Romish religion were distinguished by their services to the crown. To James, her successor, the most solemn declarations were occasionally tendered of an unreserved submission to his supreme temporal authority. In the disorders of the following reign the question was revived ; and we have already seen the violences of Rinunccini, and his inveteracy to those who presumed to decide against the pope's authority even in temporals. We have also seen, that the clerical partizans of this nuncio, by imitating and even transcending his extravagance,

* Vide Hume's Hist. vol. VI. p. 238. 4°.

vagance, brought down a dreadful chastisement, not only on their whole order, but their whole communion in Ireland.

On the restoration of Charles the Second, some of the Irish prelates and clergy, smarting with the cruelty of the usurpers, mortified at the expulsion of their party from their ancient inheritances, and dreading some farther severities from government, commissioned Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, to present an address to the king in London, to congratulate his accession to the throne of his ancestors, and to implore the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in the year sixteen hundred and forty-eight. Walsh knew how that peace had been violated by many of his brethren, and deemed it necessary to obviate the objection against tolerating the Romish religion from its inconsistency with the security of a protestant government. For this purpose he drew up the REMONSTRANCE, as it was called, of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland.

Walsh's
Hist. of
the Irish
Remonst.
Treatise,
Part i.

In this remonstrance they acknowledged the king to be supreme lord and rightful sovereign of the realm of Ireland; that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, and to pay him faithful loyalty and allegiance, notwithstanding any power or pretension, any sentence or declaration, of the pope or see of Rome: that they openly disclaimed "all foreign power, papal or princely, "spiritual or temporal, in as much as it may seem "able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence "to his majesty's person or government." They declared their resolution to detect and oppose all conspiracies and traitorous attempts against the king. They professed, that all absolute princes and supreme governors, of what religion soever, are God's lieutenants upon earth; and that obedience is due to them in all civil and temporal affairs, according to the laws in each commonwealth. They protested against all doctrine and authority to the contrary; and declared it impious and against the word

word of God, to maintain that any private subject may kill his prince, though of a different religion.

Walsh's
Hist. of
the Irish
Remonst
First
Treatise.
Part i.

THE remonstrance thus framed was presented to the duke of Ormond. He objected, that it was not signed by the clergy, but offered solely on the authority of Walsh, their procurator. One Irish bishop, and about twenty-three of their clergy, immediately subscribed it. Some few declined their subscription. Circular letters were addressed to the Irish prelates in their several residences, inviting them to concur in an address, which was soon subscribed by an additional number of the clergy, and by a respectable collection of lay lords and gentlemen. A declaration against the temporal authority of the pope was by no means acceptable at Rome. And, although the holy father would not openly interpose his immediate authority, yet the internuncio of Brussels, who had the care of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland, and cardinal Barberini, were both employed to censure the remonstrance in his name, as containing propositions already condemned by the apostolic see: the former with greater violence declared, that it would do more mischief to the church than any persecution hitherto suffered from heretics. A powerful party was soon formed against the remonstrance, by those who would not openly acknowledge the authority or influence of these censures. Some, and particularly the Jesuits, proposed new forms of an address, which appeared equivocal, evasive, or ineffectual. Some objected to that of Peter Walsh, that it was inexpedient; others, that it was uncatholic; some, that it was condemned by the learned doctors of Lorain; some opposed it, as justifying the death of that holy martyr Saint Thomas of Canterbury; others exclaimed against the impiety of it, as being repugnant to the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas.

Carta,
Orin.
vol II.
p. 511.

Such frivolous altercations were not entirely disagreeable to the state, as they would probably engross the attention of the Romish clergy, and prevent them from engaging in any practices against

against government. Some of their order had expressed their desire, that the remonstrance should be debated in a national synod. Reily, the Ro-^{Walsh.} mish primate of Armagh, and French, of Ferns, ^{Hist. ut} wrote supplicating letters to the duke of Ormond, ^{supra.} entreating permission to return to Ireland, and engaging to atone for past offences, by allowing the remonstrance. By this time the king was engaged in war with France and Holland; a descent on Ireland was expected, and some of the discontented Irish were practising secretly with France. In such ^{Ib. first} a juncture it was supposed, that any secret conspi- ^{Treat.} racies would be discouraged, if the Irish clergy were ^{part ii,} to be convened expressly for the purpose of declaring their fidelity to the king. Ormond allowed them to assemble; the agents of Rome laboured to prevent the design; but, after some vigorous opposition, the assembly was appointed to be held at Dublin, on the eleventh day of June, 1666. Reily, the popish primate, suddenly appeared in the synod, and, instead of performing his promise, practised zealously against the remonstrance. It was moved that such of the clergy as had rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws, by their conduct in the Irish war, should implore the pardon of government. They answered, that they knew of no guilt or crime ^{Ib. De v} committed in this war. The whole proceedings of ^{dictat.} the clergy were intemperate and tumultuous. Their assembly broke up without any decision; the members, violently enflamed against each other, divided into two contending parties, those who supported, and those who opposed the remonstrance. It was not a sufficient triumph to this latter party that it had not been adopted by their assembly. They who had framed or subscribed, who approved or countenanced, or who had not opposed this profession of allegiance were to be prosecuted and totally suppressed.

For this purpose, on the arrival of lord Berkley, provincial councils and diocesan synods were convened.

vened. The pope, who named the bishops, and commanded the preferments of regulars, easily formed his party. The remonstrants were every where dispossessed of their cures and stations; Peter Walsh, and his associates, were denounced excommunicate, and left without means of preserving their lives, but by submitting to their prosecutors, or flying to foreign countries, where they were again in danger of being burnt as heretics for denying the power of the pope in temporal affairs.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 414.

THE anti-remonstrants had just now gained a distinguished and powerful partisan, Peter Talbot, created by the pope Archbishop of Dublin, for the very purpose of chastising the opposers of his temporal authority. Peter, by conversing with his brother Richard, being favored by Buckingham, and noticed by the king, had acquired a passion for political intrigue. The favor he enjoyed at the English court, rendered him an object of stupendous consequence to the popish clergy: and, to encrease their veneration, he had the confidence to declare publicly, that the king had appointed him to superintend their whole order in Ireland. He persuaded lord Berkley, that his influence in this country was irresistible. He had the hardiness to appear before the council at Dublin in the habit of his order and station, and Berkley was mean enough to permit this outrage on the laws and to dismiss him unmolested, though he refused to join in any recognition of loyalty. Another incident made a

Memoirs
of Ireland.

deeper impression upon the protestant party than things of more moment, which do not immediately strike the senses of the common people. Talbot proposed to celebrate a mass in Dublin, with extraordinary splendor. On this occasion he publicly applied to Sir Ellis Leighton to borrow some hangings and plate, which made part of the furniture of the castle. The secretary sent the utensils necessary for the pomp of his worship; and, in his compliment to Talbot, was said to have expressed a wish that

that high mass might soon be celebrated at Christ-Church.

THE wretched remonstrants felt all the insolence of this presuming prelate: they sought relief from lord Berkley, and the plainest dictates of justice and policy pleaded in their behalf; but Berkley, either through fear of Talbot, or in obedience to his private instructions, refused to interpose his authority for their protection. The body of Romish clergy were on the point of uniting in the doctrine of the pope's unlimited authority; a doctrine rejected in France, and other catholic countries, and to which the late miseries of Ireland were in a great measure to be imputed. The opposers of this doctrine requested to lay their case before the lieutenant. He refused them an audience. Margetson, the protestant primate, attempted to plead for them; he was reprov'd: they addressed themselves to the duke of Ormond: * the duke was their zealous friend; but Berkley complained of his officiousness, and openly declared that he would consider any new orders from the council of England as the dictates of the duke, and pass them by unnoticed. Peter Talbot, and his colleagues, proceeded securely in the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, and in his severities against those who presumed to maintain the odious doctrine of allegiance.

NOR was this indulgence to the Romish ecclesiastical jurisdiction the only favor shewn to Irish catholics. It was soon followed by an order for granting commissions of the peace to professed papists, and admitting them to inhabit and trade in corporations. An attempt to establish some popish aldermen, Carte, ut sup.
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 420.
Memoirs
of Ireland.

* Mr. Carte imputes it to the interposition of the duke of Ormond, that lord Berkley received a particular instruction, to protect those who supported the remonstrance, and were persecuted on this account. In a manuscript copy of his instructions (now before me) attested by Sir Ellis Leighton, the article relative to this matter stands last, and is evidently an addition occasionally made, and probably at the instances of Ormond.

men, and a popish common council in Dublin, produced violent and lasting animosities in the city, and was at length effected, partly by fraud and outrage. Protestant subjects were astonished; they possessed their imaginations with new plots and massacres. Crosses* were discovered over all the doors of papists, a mark of distinction which was said to secure the inhabitants from slaughter on the day of execution. It was whispered, and the popish party, in their vanity, encouraged the rumour, that Charles, in his exile, had promised the French king to restore the Irish to their estates, and the freedom of their religion: and such rumours were countenanced by the attempts made by Richard Talbot to infringe the acts of settlement†.

THE

* Every trivial circumstance was interpreted with the utmost malignity, by those whose imaginations were possessed by rebellion, murder, and massacre. From these crosses, the author of *Memoirs of Ireland from the Restoration*, hath, in his flaming zeal, adopted, or invented a dreadful tale of conspiracy. But Story, in his history of the wars of Ireland, gives a fair account of this terrible phenomenon. On the popish festival, called Corpus Christi, the vulgar Irish, in their childish superstition, fixed a cross of straw in the front of their cottages: on the return of the festival, another was added. They were intended to secure the habitation, not from massacre, but witchcraft and evil spirits.

† At the time when the popish party could avow their designs, it plainly appeared, that nothing could content them but the utter abolition of these laws. For the present however, they affected some moderation. In their private memorials to the king and duke, they represented the rebellion of forty-one as the act of a few, driven by fear and oppression to take up arms: that the insurgents had submitted, adhered to the peace of forty-eight, and to the late king's service. They acquiesced in his present majesty's declaration, and the settlement of adventurers and soldiers, and desired only a compensation in money from the king's new revenues. At the same time, they magnified their own power and consequence in Ireland, as well as their attachment to the crown, desired to be restored to their habitations and freedom in corporate towns, to magistracies and military command; that the army should be formed gradually of catholics, and the courts of law filled with catholic judges: they even hinted the propriety of admitting catholic prelates into parliament.

See the Appendix to King's state of the Protestants of Ireland. No. ii.

THE favorable dispositions which the court dis-^{Carte,}
 covered to the popish party, emboldened a number ^{Orm.}
 of their lords and gentlemen to grant a commission ^{vol. II.}
 to Talbot for laying their grievances before the ^{p. 425.}
 king and parliament of England. Pursuant to this ^{A. D.}
 procuration, he presented their petition to the king ¹⁶⁷¹
 and council. It set forth, that the petitioners had
 been dispossessed of their lands by the usurpers for
 their loyalty, had faithfully served his majesty; but
 that for want of a just representation of their cases,
 their estates had been possessed by others. They
 prayed that some impartial persons should be ap-
 pointed to hear and report their grievances; and
 that, in the interim, the king would suspend his
 grants of any lands not yet disposed of in Ireland.
 A committee was appointed to consider this peti-
 tion. Ormond, one of the members, was alarmed
 at the bold and dangerous design of overturning
 the whole settlement of Ireland. Some errors had
 indeed been committed, but in attempting to cor-
 rect them, many more, and these more dangerous
 might be introduced; some grievances had been
 sustained by individuals, but these were not to be
 redressed by casting the kingdom into general con-
 fusion. He pressed, that the petitioners might not
 be heard, nor their council admitted to object
 against the acts. When this could not be obtain-
 ed, he answered all their allegations fully; and Sir
 Heneage Finch, to whom, as attorney-general, all
 the papers were referred, made a report highly un-
 favorable to the petitioners. But the resources of ^{Ibid.}
 the cabal were not yet exhausted. Another com- ^{Append.}
 mittee (from which Ormond was industriously ex- ^{p. 91.}
 cluded) was empowered to revise "all papers and
 "orders for the settlement of Ireland, to report
 "what alterations had been made of matters once
 "settled, and to represent the defects of papers or
 "warrants for justifying any clauses contrary to the
 "king's declaration, the first ground of settlement."
 Their report was erroneous: a third commission was
 Vol. III. 3 N issued,

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 422.

issued, and many months wasted in searching for materials to form another report.

IN the mean time, Ireland was a scene of general alarm. The adventurers and soldiers, the forty-nine officers, the Connaught purchasers, presented their several petitions, which were transmitted to England, and all agreed in one great point, the maintenance of the present settlement. In England, the people were not indifferent to the conduct of Irish affairs. Terrified by every indulgence to popery, suspicious of the king, certain of the duke of York's dispositions, they complained and clamoured. The ministry was alarmed: they dreaded the approaching parliament; they began to discern, that they had made too precipitate a discovery of their purposes; they now affected to condemn the conduct of lord Berkley; they found it necessary to remove him from his government, and to substitute the earl of Essex in his place.

THE English parliament was not thus satisfied: among other spirited proceedings, they presented an address to the king relative to the affairs of Ireland. They petitioned, that he would maintain the acts of settlement and explanation, and recal his late commission of enquiry, as highly prejudicial to many individuals, and dangerous to the peace and security of that kingdom; that he would give order that no papists should be admitted justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, or any magistrates in Ireland; and that all licences to papists for inhabiting within corporations should be recalled. They required that all popish prelates, and others, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the pope's authority, particularly Peter Talbot, pretended archbishop of Dublin, should be commanded to depart from Ireland, and all other his majesty's dominions; that all convents and seminaries should be dissolved, and all secular priests banished; that colonel Richard Talbot, assuming the title of agent of the Roman catholics of Ireland, should be dismissed from all command,

command, civil or military, and forbidden access to his majesty's court; and lastly that the chief governors of Ireland should have such orders and directions, as might tend to encourage the English planters and protestant interest, and suppress the disorders of the Irish papists.

THE parliament was too formidable for any slight or neglect of their representations. The commission of enquiry was superseded, and the king declared his resolution to maintain the acts of settlement. The obnoxious proceedings in the corporation of Dublin were reversed, and the ejected protestants restored to their places. The public countenance so inconsiderately shewn to the popish interest was for a time withdrawn; and the administration of lord Essex passed in the usual course of Irish government, without exhibiting any extraordinary or important incidents. His new rules for regulating corporations, which he was by the act of explanation empowered to prescribe, were calculated to increase the power of the crown, and to lessen the popular interest. The election of magistrates was confined by these rules to a few; and, in general, the approbation of the chief governor and council was required, before any magistrate could assume his office. Strangers and aliens were admitted to freedom in every town on easy terms. Such regulations could not but mortify the inferior orders of citizens, who, in their ignorance and pride of association, are most susceptible of unfavorable impressions of government, and readiest to clamor against their superiors. The late violent proceedings and contests in Dublin had produced discontents and factions among the citizens, which, if we may believe lord Essex, were secretly fomented by Sir Ellis Leighton and Richard Talbot. The proceedings, relative to the contest between the protestant and popish aldermen, were ordered to be erased from the books of the corporation. The commons refused obedience to this order; they even questioned the authority

Irish Stat.
vol. III.

Essex's
Letters.

authority of the lieutenant and council; and Essex, in his attempts to suppress their turbulence, discovered more of cold caution than the manly spirit of a good governor.

Essex's
Letters.

THIS chief governor, indeed, seems to have been particularly embarrassed through his whole administration, by his fears of the English factions, and the reports which might be spread in London to his disadvantage. He experienced numberless difficulties in executing the acts of settlement, in a country so "rent and torn," as he expressed it, that he could compare its distractions "to nothing better than flinging the reward upon the death of a deer among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself." Private grants conferred by the king's letters produced deficiencies in the discharge of the Irish establishment, of which he complained, not with all the pliancy of a courtier: nor was he satisfied with the general management of the revenue, or with the farmers to whom it was entrusted. In the year 1675, he with difficulty, obtained licence to repair to England to lay the state of Irish affairs before the king: and, although he was allowed to resume his government, neither Charles, nor his brother, seems to have been satisfied with a lord lieutenant, whose integrity was more rigid than their own, who objected to several exceptionable and clandestine measures, however authorised, and even refused obedience to the royal orders, when not exactly conformable to law. Colonel Richard Talbot interested himself with particular forwardness in procuring a successor to the earl of Essex. The office was said to be exposed to sale, and some nobleman sought for who would consent to purchase it, by an annual sum of money paid privately to the king, who was mean enough to engage in such traffic. But whatever designs were entertained of this nature, the kingdom was suddenly surprised by an unexpected, and apparently unaccountable disposition of the government of Ireland.

Burnet's
own
Times.
Memoirs
of Ireland.

CHARLES

CHARLES had so implicitly yielded to the influence of his ministers, that for a long time he appeared totally estranged from the duke of Ormond. A horrid attempt was made on the life of this nobleman by Blood, who had formerly engaged in the design of seizing the castle of Dublin. As the duke returned from attending the prince of Orange to an entertainment in the city of London, Blood, with his accomplices, stopped and dragged him from his coach. Happily, in a refinement of cruelty, he resolved to hang him at Tyburn, which gave time to his domestics to fly to his rescue. When the assassin was seized in his attempt to rob the Tower of the regalia, and Charles descended to confer with him, he freely acknowledged his attempt on the duke of Ormond. When this monster was to be pardoned and rewarded, lord Arlington was employed to signify the king's pleasure, that the duke would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was commanded to deliver. "If the king," said Ormond "hath forgiven his design of stealing the crown, I may easily forgive the attempt upon my life. His majesty's pleasure is a sufficient reason. Your lordship may spare the rest."

THE earl of Ossory, youthful, warm, and spirited, could not preserve such temper on such an incident. He suspected that the duke of Buckingham had been the first mover of this attempt against his father, nor did he conceal his suspicions. While Buckingham stood near the king, the earl advanced with his eyes glaring, and his aspect enflamed with indignation. "My lord," said he, in a low and sullen voice, "I well know that you were at the bottom of this late attempt of Blood. Take notice; should my father come to an untimely or violent death, I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king: I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word."

ALTHOUGH

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 451.—
461.

ALTHOUGH his life was saved, yet the enemies of Ormond still laboured indefatigably to destroy his reputation. He was accused of misconduct in his government, and mismanagement of the Irish revenue. On solemn examinations before the council, the charge proved false and frivolous. Yet the refuted falsehoods were frequently repeated, and the king, however he respected the virtues of Ormond; was yet obliged to treat him with a mortifying coldness. Such unworthy treatment could neither humble nor provoke the duke. He took his part in council, he attended daily on the king, without concealing his sentiments on public affairs, or betraying his resentment; without courting the king's mistresses for favor; without intriguing, or flying to any faction for revenge. He preserved that dignity and credit which both king and ministers had forfeited. Even in the drawing-room, his virtues and conciliating address attracted a little circle round him of those who were independent on the court. On such an occasion, the king, not daring, to shew him any civility, was abashed and confounded. Sir said the profligate Buckingham, "I wish to know whether it be the duke of Ormond that is out of favor with your majesty, or your majesty with the duke of Ormond; for, of the two, you seem most out of countenance." In this state of disgrace, he still continued to speak his sentiments freely, nor was he mortified by opposition. He compared himself to an old clock cast into a corner; "and yet," said he, "even this rusty machine points sometimes right." When colonel Cary Dillon solicited his interest in some suit, declaring, that he had no friends but God and his grace; "Alas, poor Cary!" replied the duke, "thou couldst not have named two friends of less interest, or less respected at court."

In Ireland he still enjoyed the utmost degree of popularity notwithstanding his disgrace. On visiting this country during the administration of lord Essex, he

he was received with every mark of affection and delight. Kilkenny, his place of residence, became instantly the seat of splendor. Two hundred gentlemen were every day entertained at his table: and Dublin would have been exhausted of all its inhabitants of rank, had not the duke determined to pay his respects in person to the lieutenant. The cold civility with which he was received, in compliance with the English ministry, and possibly from some jealousy of his superior popularity, only served to excite indignation, and to redouble the attention of all orders to this favorite duke.

It was now several years since the king had spoken to Ormond in any confidential manner except when Shaftsbury was declared lord chancellor. On this occasion, Charles ventured to take him apart, and to ask his opinion of this measure. "Your majesty," said the duke, "hath acted very prudently in committing the seals to lord Shaftsbury, provided you know how to get them from him again." After this short conference, the king relapsed into his former coldness. For almost a year, he never deigned to speak to the duke, who, from his return to England, every day attended at the court. At length, in the month of April 1677, Ormond was surprised by a message from the king, that he would sup with him. Their interview was easy and cheerful, without any explanation, or any discussion of past transactions. On parting, Charles signified his intentions of again employing him in Ireland. The next morning he saw the duke at a distance, advancing to pay his usual duty. "Yonder comes Ormond:" said Charles, "I have done all in my power to disoblige him, and to make him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me. I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland." From this time he was designed lord lieutenant, and nothing remained but to adjust with the earl of Essex the time and manner of his departure.

A. D.
1677:
Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 466.

An appointment so unexpected gave free scope to conjecture: Some imputed it to the king's desire of quieting the suspicions of a parliament just now convened, and discrediting the rumors of his intention to encourage popery in Ireland. Others, who had discovered that the duke of York was a great means of affecting it, rashly pronounced that Ormond must have been reconciled to the interests of popery. The account adopted by Mr. Carte seems more probable, and more worthy of notice than such vague conjectures. The duke of Monmouth was by this time grown a particular favorite both with the court and the populace. The earl of Shaftsbury and his party deemed him a proper instrument of their purposes, and wrought assiduously on his weakness and ambition. He was already master of the horse; and both the duchess of Portsmouth and the treasurer, earnestly solicited the king to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of York was alarmed. He could not bear that his rival should get a taste of sovereignty, and become master of the whole power of a kingdom. He instantly resolved to prevent it; and finding no competitor fit to be opposed to Monmouth but the duke of Ormond, labored to restore him to the king's favor, and to the government of Ireland.

Ibid,
p. 469—
473.

THE first cares of Ormond's new administration were to render the Irish army respectable, to have it duly exercised, and regularly paid; and, for these purposes, to inspect the state of the revenue, to correct abuses in the grants of money, and to guard against those misrepresentations to which he had been formerly exposed. He found the kingdom defenceless; he wished to provide for its security; supplies were absolutely necessary, and no supplies could be obtained but from an Irish parliament. It was necessary, for many reasons that such a parliament should be convened. The decrees of the court of claims were to be confirmed; subjects were to be secured against any old title of the crown,

crown, by such provisions as the acts of settlement had not established: commissions of enquiry into concealed forfeitures, with their train of lawyers, projectors, and solicitors, had grown to an enormous grievance, which required legal redress. The vexations and terrors of the people called for an act of general pardon and remission of the crown debts. The abuses committed in the revenue might be most effectually corrected, and prevented for the future by a parliament: but above all other considerations, money was to be raised by some additional duties; the king was desirous of subsidies, and Ormond was impatient for an assembly that was to provide for the honor and security of his government.

BUT a new and alarming incident in England, Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 477. interrupted all measures for the improvement of the state of Ireland, and involved his administration in terror and perplexity. As the duke returned to Kilkenny from visiting the forts of Munster, and particularly a fort he had just now erected at Kinsale, he received intelligence of what was called the popish plot, by a letter hastily written, while Tonge and Oates were in their examination before the council. This was immediately followed by a more particular information from the secretary of state, that the plot extended to Ireland; that Peter Talbot was engaged in it, and that persons were hired to assassinate the lieutenant. If the first report of a popish conspiracy could raise a general ferment in England, much more violent effects were to be expected in a country where the popish inhabitants were so numerous; and where protestants were possessed with an habitual horror of their secret practices, where the first outrages of the late rebellion were remembered, related with every hideous circumstance of cruelty and carnage, and the imaginations of all the English race possessed with scenes of blood and desolation.

THE least degree of inactivity on the part of government, the slightest hesitation or doubt of the

reality of the plot in general, or of the particular circumstances relative to Ireland, would have been considered as dangerous and traitorous. Peter Talbot, however factiously inclined, was at this time utterly incapable of taking any active part in a conspiracy. For two years violently afflicted with the stone and strangury, he had petitioned for a tacit permission to remove from Cheshire, and die in Ireland. Ormond, however, instantly signed a warrant to secure his person. The officers appointed to execute it, found him at his brother's seat in the neighbourhood of Dublin. He probably had time to remove his papers; for, notwithstanding his extensive correspondence, nothing was found in his cabinet but a few letters of controversial divinity; and, as it seemed impossible to remove him in his present state of pain and languor, the security of his brother was accepted for his appearance. Such indulgence was liable to dangerous misrepresentation; and, therefore, on the return of the duke of Ormond to Dublin, Peter was removed to the castle, and attended with the care due to a person who seemed on the point of death.

In the mean time, orders were issued that all officers and soldiers should repair to their respective garrisons; that popish ecclesiastics should depart from the kingdom, popish seminaries, and convents be suppressed; and that all papists should bring in their arms within twenty days to the persons appointed to receive and deposite them in the king's stores. Informations quickly multiplied; and directions were received from England to seize Richard Talbot, lord Mountgarret and his son, and a colonel of the name of Peppard. Lord Mountgarret, represented as a dangerous conspirator, was of the age of fourscore years, bed-ridden, and in a state of dotage; and, to the further discredit of the evidences, no colonel Peppard was known, or could be found in Ireland. From the examination of Richard Talbot nothing alarming could be collected, nothing that might warrant his further detention;

tion; he was, therefore by order of the English council, suffered to give security for his quiet demeanour, and to depart from Ireland.

In this time of terror and alarm, amidst the clamours of the vulgar, the violent, and the designing, Ormond proceeded with temper, with steadiness and vigour. He disarmed the papists, settled the militia, secured the garrisons, and kept the army untainted. A number of vagabond robbers, called Tories, the remains or descendants of that race of barbarous plunderers which the Irish war had produced, concealed themselves in the mountains and bogs of Ulster, and other parts of Ireland, issued out occasionally, and harassed the civil inhabitants by every kind of outrage. They were usually concealed by their relations; sometimes by the popish priest, who, notwithstanding all the formal proclamations of government, continued to exercise his function in the neighbourhood of these robbers. In a season of apparent danger, Ormond resorted to an extraordinary expedient, justified only by necessity, and the failure of all other means. A proclamation was published, directing, that the near relations of known tories should be committed to prison, until such tories were killed or brought to justice; and that any popish pretended parish priest of any place where murder or robbery were perpetrated by these tories, should be committed to prison, and thence transported, unless within fourteen days the guilty persons were killed or taken, or such discovery made, that they might be apprehended and brought to justice.

But this instance of rigour did not satisfy many protestants, who, in their zeal, their terror, and perhaps some secret inclination to a new rebellion and new forfeitures, called for more severe and irritating measures. They proposed, that those of the Irish who still enjoyed the old rank of chieftainry, who had lost their estates, and were, therefore likely to engage in any desperate purpose, should be secured, so as to restrain their sects from rebellion.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 481.

Ibid.
p. 484.

rebellion. But Ormond thought it unjust to imprison men merely because they might do mischief, and before they had discovered any dangerous dispositions. If all suspected persons were to be seized, it seemed difficult to say how or where they were to be kept; how many might be thus driven to desperate courses, and whether their followers might not rather be provoked than intimidated. It was well known how much the imprisonments, and other severities of Sir William Parsons, had contributed to hurry numbers into the last rebellion; and neither the duke nor the privy council deemed it prudent to make another experiment, whether the same measures might be attended with the same effects.

It was also proposed to expel those papists from corporate towns, who, though formerly excluded, had yet been licensed to return. But, whatever had been the occasional indulgence of government to this obnoxious party, it was well known the English inhabitants had contributed to the abuse they now inveighed against. They themselves had received the papist Irish into towns, because they could not live without them. They wanted servants, tenants, and tradesmen; the Irish furnished all these, and were encouraged. Whatever danger arose from their re-admission into towns, the evil could not be immediately remedied, without desolating these towns, and driving numbers to a vagrant life. In an affair so delicate, where the violation of the law was evident, and its strict enforcement dangerous, Ormond and the council took a middle course. They issued a proclamation, that none of the popish religion should come into the castle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, without special order from the lord lieutenant; that fairs and markets should be held without the walls of some principal cities, to which papists were to resort unarmed. Such of them as had lately been admitted into these cities were removed; and from others, where popish inhabitants chiefly abounded, all the idle and use-
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Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 480—
485.

less were expelled: and none suffered to remain but merchants, artificers, and other necessary persons.

An administration conducted with temper, by which the protestants were secured from false alarms of danger, without relaxation of that care and vigilance which the time required, and without irritating the popish party by oppression or wanton severity, was not entirely agreeable to the passions and prejudices of many English subjects in Ireland. The more violent attempted to drive the duke of Ormond from his course of moderate measures, by alarming him with fears of assassination. Letters were dropped in Dublin, intimating a design of this nature, and several pretended to give an account of what they heard or suspected of this design. But the duke was not to be moved by dark and inexplicable informations; and the next step of those who were dissatisfied with his conduct, was to transmit their complaints to England. The lieutenant by all his influence, by all his expence in procuring intelligence, could find no reason to apprehend an insurrection in Ireland; yet letters were sent into England, insinuating that the protestants of this country were in the utmost danger, and little care taken for their defence. Ormond was accused of not seizing the Irish chieftains, of not expelling papists from corporate towns, of commanding them by proclamation to deliver up their arms, instead of sending his soldiers to disarm them; by which every garrison must have been abandoned, and the army scattered in loose files, exposed to destruction, and utterly incapable of executing their orders in any reasonable time, even if no commotion should arise; as, by the computation of Sir William Petty, there were about fifteen papists now in Ireland to one protestant. But these complaints, however unreasonable and absurd, were received with avidity by the prevailing party in England. The licentiousness of the press, the virulence of private slander, the prejudices and credulity of the vulgar, the artifice of popular leaders, all conspired to load the duke

Ormond.
vol. II.
p. 481.

Ibid.
p. 481.

A. D.
1679.

duke of Ormond with the odium of being popishly inclined. Lord Shaftsbury conveyed the insinuation into the house of lords, with sanguine hopes of removing Ormond from his government. To sound the temper of the peers, he recommended to their consideration the state of Ireland, a country too much neglected, managed with too great inattention to the English interest, and too dangerous partiality to the popish party. The earl of Ossory was witness of these reflections on his father. He started up, and in the unadorned language of a soldier, and with the warmth of filial affection, expressed his astonishment at these insinuations against the duke of Ormond, briefly recounted those actions of his life which had raised his zeal for the royal service and the interest of protestants above suspicion; then, with a firm and elevated voice, with an eye darting indignation and contempt on Shaftsbury, he proceeded thus: "And now, my lords, having spoken of what he has done, I presume, with the same truth, to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking of the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch, and joining with France; he was not the author of that most excellent position, *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father, and of all men, according to their actions and counsels."

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
Append.
p. 90.

Ibid.
p. 491—
497.

NOTHING could have happened more convenient to the purposes of Shaftsbury than an insurrection in Ireland; he was disappointed, and provoked at the tranquillity of this country, and at that moderate administration which maintained it: he was impatient to remove Ormond from his government, but the king firmly declared, that he never should be removed: he attempted to change the

the Irish council which had concurred in the measures of the lieutenant: the king rejected the proposition; he would not change any of his ministers in Ireland; for, he would not, as he expressed it, resign this kingdom to the parliament. Shaftsbury and his party were thus obliged to proceed indirectly, and to procure orders for the council of Ireland to transmit severe bills against popish recusants. Should they refuse they must be removed; should they obey, the Irish might be driven to rebellion. Orders were transmitted to the lord lieutenant and council, to prepare laws for excluding papists from either house of parliament, or any office in Ireland, agreeably to those already enacted in England; and that a proclamation should be issued for encouraging all persons to make further discoveries of the horrid popish plot. The bills were not transmitted till after the dissolution of the English parliament: the proclamation was immediately published.

It reflected particular discredit on the popish plot in England, that a year had passed before one evidence could be found of any like conspiracy in Ireland, where the papists were so numerous, and whither their brethren of England might naturally have resorted for assistance. The fears and suspicions of those who were most hated against popery and the Irish, formed imaginary dangers. An invasion was suddenly expected from France. Informations of such a design were transmitted to England by lord Orrery, and eagerly received. One ship was particularly named, to have conveyed a vast number of arms and military stores to the port of Waterford. The vessel was instantly seized, searched, and instead of containing all the formidable preparations for rebellion and massacre, was found to be freighted only with salt. Such futile alarms served as hints to those whom the hope of gain, or revenge prompted, to embrace the encouragement given to informers, and assisted them in framing their malicious tales. One Bourke, of the
county

county of Waterford, a man of flagitious character, had been committed to prison by De la Poer, earl of Tyrone. He instantly accused the earl as engaged in promoting an invasion; but, however implicitly the accusation was believed in London, it proved, on the clearest evidence, false and malicious. David Fitzgerald a protestant of the county of Limerick, at first seemed a more reputable evidence, though he commenced informer in prison, and on the point of being tried for high treason. He was acquitted, and his information received by the duke of Ormond. He named some men of figure as accomplices in the design of an insurrection; but his narrative was confused, improbable, and inconsistent. The persons accused freely offered themselves to be tried in that place where their conversation was known, and where the conspiracy was said to be carried on. But Shaftsbury now boasted that he could produce important discoveries of an Irish plot. It was resolved to try the culprits in London. Fitzgerald was sent for; and, though he attempted to escape, was forcibly dragged to give his evidence in London.

BUT one witness, however credible, was not sufficient. More were sought for, nor was it extraordinary, nor is it any fair ground for national reflection, that uncommon industry and encouragement procured some more witnesses in Ireland. Some of the inferior popish clergy, of extreme poverty and profligate lives, consented to become informers. The haunts of Tories were successfully ransacked for others; and all these men suddenly appeared in London, not in their original state of meanness and barbarism, but in a decent garb, and with the appearance even of affluence. Happily, the persons accused by Fitzgerald escaped by the remorse of their accuser; who, at length, freely acknowledged the baseness and falsehood of his information. Oliver Plunket, the popish archbishop of Armagh, was not so fortunate. He succeeded Reily in this station;

station ; and during the government of lord Essex, lived quietly in Ireland, recommending a peaceable submission to government, and expressing his abhorrence of all political intrigues. He even exerted his spiritual authority to restrain the turbulent temper of Peter Talbot, and to confine him within the duties of his profession. But some of the inferiors of his clergy, men of lewd lives and brutal manners, were provoked by his censures and correction, and formed the design of accusing him. He was conveyed to London ; but, as these evidences had neither honesty to swear the truth, nor sense to devise a consistent tale, their first attempt was defeated. The jury, even in these days of passionate credulity, could not find a bill against Plunket. But the informers gained some accomplices, they framed their accusation a-new, and made another attack. Plunket was accused of obtaining his title and station for the purpose, and on an express compact, of raising seventy thousand men in Ireland by the contributions of the popish clergy, whose whole revenues could not equip a single regiment. This formidable body of insurgents was destined to joined twenty thousand men to be furnished by France, and who were to make their descent at the port of Carlingford, a place the most inconvenient, and even impossible for the purpose. The witnesses of Plunket were detained by contrary winds, and other untoward accidents so that he had little to urge against his accusers but the improbability of their evidence, and solemn asseverations of his own innocence. The wretched man was condemned, and executed for a plot which he explicitly denied at his death, with the most solemn disavowal of all equivocation ; and which, if he had confessed, no man at all acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland (as he pertinently observed) could have given the least credit to his dying confession.

Burnet.
vol. I.
p. 282.

State.
Trials.
vol. III.

THROUGH the whole melancholy progress of A. D. 1680.
perjury and subornation, the duke of Ormond acted
Vol. III. 3 P with

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 508.

A. D.
1681.

Ibid.
p. 519.

A. D.
1682.

with the utmost caution. He discouraged no informations; he discovered no violence in the prosecution of them. He gave his enemies in England no pretence for accusing him of remissness, or inattention to the security of his government; but he gave them no hopes of concurring in their favourite measures. On the afflicting death of his son, the gallant earl of Ossory, they renewed their efforts to remove him from the government of Ireland. Even the more virtuous of the popular party could not be satisfied at the power and favor enjoyed by a nobleman, bred in the most exalted notions of loyalty and hereditary right, known to enjoy a good degree of confidence with the duke of York, and supposed to be an enemy to the scheme of exclusion. For the very same reason, the king resolved to continue him in his present station. Lord Essex laboured to be restored to the government of Ireland; his friends espoused his pretensions; old clamors were revived against the duke; new calumnies suggested and propagated; but such dishonorable means defeated their own purposes. Ormond stood the attack unmoved: and when the apprehensions excited by an infamous train of informers were allayed; when, notwithstanding the vote of an English parliament that there was a plot in Ireland, no traces could be discovered; when, after the first fit of popular fury, the credit of the plot and its evidence declined in England; and, on several trials in Ireland the accused were clearly acquitted, the minds of all subjects in this kingdom were relieved from a state of terror and anxiety. Trade and industry increased, and the composed state of public affairs enabled Ormond to commit the sword of state to a deputy, the earl of Arran, and to repair to England, whither he was called by the king, at the instances of the duke of York.

It is not to be doubted, but that the king in the present course of arbitrary measures which he adopted, wished for the countenance of a servant so generally

generally respected as the duke of Ormond; and that the duke of York, knowing the instability of his brother, sought to keep him steady and determined by the authority of such a counsellor. Were it to the present purpose to enter into a detail of Ormond's conduct in England, it might not appear to form the most brilliant part of his life. The very facts which his biographer hath recited with so much satisfaction, prove him to have displayed the most unbounded attachment to the crown, by being an active agent in the most odious and obnoxious measures. But, to his honor, it must be observed, that he was by no means admitted into all the most secret councils and purposes of the king and duke. After two years residence in London, he prepared to return to his government. He solicited zealously for an Irish parliament; but the prospect of a considerable supply could not reconcile the king to this measure. Ormond ascribed this reluctance to the probable cause, the severity of some bills transmitted against papists during the violence of the popish plot, and he approved the apparent moderation of the king in defeating these bills. Nor do his suspicions seem to have been roused by another measure which produced considerable clamor. As it was resolved that an Irish parliament should not be convened; and as it was necessary for the quiet of Ireland, that estates should be confirmed to their proprietors, against all fraudulent or captious attempts, a commission of grace was issued for remedy of defective titles. The scheme of this commission was formed by the duke of York; and the protestant party had too good reason to conclude, that the real design of this novelty was to make a narrow inspection into titles, and to discover what advantages might be made for depriving protestants of their possessions, and restoring them to the Irish.

HOWEVER this may be the duke of Ormond had scarcely returned to Ireland, when he received surprising proof that designs were formed with respect to this country, in which his concurrence could not

Carte.
Orin.
vol. II.
p. 535.

Memoirs
of Ireland.

Carte.
Orin.
vol. II.
p. 539.
A. D.
1684.

be expected. Charles now lived in an indolent enjoyment of that superiority which he had acquired over all the opposers of his power. The party which had made such desperate efforts to circumscribe the king within the strict limits of the constitution, and to exclude the duke of York from the succession, was totally subdued. By the discovery of the Rye-house plot, their leaders were exposed to the rigor of the law; and the people, who confounded the design of assassination with that of an insurrection, looked on the whole party with horror, and seemed to contend with each other, in a passionate zeal, for laying themselves and their liberties at the feet of their sovereign. The reins of government were committed to the duke of York. The duke affected activity and penetration. He represented to his brother the necessity of securing and perpetuating that superiority he had now acquired; he reminded him of those distresses to which the crown had often-times been reduced from the want of a sufficient army implicitly devoted to its service. He turned his attention to Ireland, a country which, if duly managed, would with an implicit devotion conform to his wishes. In this country the revenue was considerably improved, though in the hands of farmers, whose contracts however advantageous to themselves, had not always been performed. Sixty-one thousand pounds had been yearly drawn from the Irish treasury for the garrison of Tangier. By the demolition of this fort, the country had been eased of this grievous burden; and tranquillity and improvement promised new accessions of wealth to Ireland. Here then the king was taught to look for such a military establishment as might give respect and stability to his government. But it was not the present army of Ireland for whose attachment the duke of York could so peremptorily engage: he regarded it as an assemblage of factious fanatical republicans, comprehended under the general name of protestants, not reconciled to the present favorite doctrines of

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 472—
525.

of absolute submission and obedience; the descendants of those who resisted his royal father, and pursued him even to the scaffold, nurtured in the same principles, and ready for the same purposes. He advised the king to fix his reliance on another party, that of the catholics, who, notwithstanding all their grievances, were unalterably devoted to the crown, and the presumptive heir; whose principles and interest must attach them firmly to his service, and whose zeal must be enlivened by being at length restored to favor and consequence, and relieved from the oppression of sectaries and rebels.

CHARLES hastily adopted this scheme, rather in careless compliance with his brother, than from that deliberate reflection which an affair of such importance merited. It was speedily resolved to remove the duke of Ormond from the government of Ireland, as his powers could not be diminished, and his principles were known to be repugnant to this new design. Scarcely had this design been suspected at court, when, as usual, insinuations were whispered against the conduct both of Ormond and his son Arran. Colonel Richard Talbot, who had been allowed to return from exile, and probably was admitted to the secret councils of the duke of York, inveighed with his usual violence against the administration of Irish affairs, and represented it as a matter of absolute necessity to make a general reformation in the council, the magistracy, and the army of Ireland. The duke of Ormond had but just resumed his government, when, (as he expressed it) "before his head was settled from the agitation of the sea," he received private assurances of his intended removal. These were soon followed by a letter from the king, conceived in the following terms.

Newmarket, October 19, 1684.

"I FIND it absolutely necessary for my service
 "that very many, and almost general alterations
 "should be made in Ireland, both in the civil and military

Carte,

Orm.

vol. II.

Append.

p. 111.

" military parts of the government; that several
 " persons who were recommended and placed by
 " you (and who were fit to be so at that time) must
 " now be removed. For which reason, and others
 " of the like nature, I have resolved to put that
 " government into another hand, and have made
 " choice of my lord Rochester, who is every way
 " fit for it; and, in one respect, fitter than any
 " other man can be, which is, that the near * re-
 " lation he has to you makes your concerns and
 " those of your family to be his, and he will have
 " that care of them which I desire may be always
 " continued. And, because I would have this al-
 " teration appear with all the regard and consid-
 " eration that I have for you, I offer it to yourself
 " to propose in what manner you would wish it to
 " be done; and afterwards, if you choose to stay
 " in that country, all whom I employ shall pay you
 " all the respect your merit and long constant ser-
 " vices can expect; and whenever you come hi-
 " ther, you shall receive the same marks of my
 " kindness, esteem, and confidence you have hi-
 " therto had; and this you may depend upon. No-
 " thing I have now resolved on this subject shall
 " be public till I hear from you, and so be sure of
 " my kindnesses,

CHARLES REX."

Thus was the favorite design revealed. The
 total alteration in all departments could be intended
 only to introduce the catholic party. The person
 destined to the government was to be abridged in
 his most essential powers. He was not to interfere
 in any military matters, or to name the lowest com-
 missioned officer in the army. This whole province
 was to be assigned to a lieutenant-general; and Tal-
 bot, the well-known patron of the popish party, was
 to be invested with this station and authority. Or-
 mond

* The daughter of lord Hyde, now earl of Rochester, had lately
 been married to the young earl of Ossory, grandson to the duke of Or-
 mond.

mond was comforted in his disgrace, by finding that the charge of forming a popish army was not committed to him. "I was much to seek," said Carte, he in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, "what it ^{Carte, Orm. Append. vol. II. p. 112.} could be that was fit for the king to command, "and yet would be hard to impose upon me to execute. For such things the king was pleased to say were to be done by my successor; but now I think that riddle is expounded in the restraints put upon my lord of Rochester; one whereof is, that he shall not dispose of the lowest commissioned office in the army. I confess it would have been very uneasy to me to have continued in the government upon those conditions; and I should have thought it not very dutiful to have refused to serve the king upon any terms, or in any station. From this difficulty, I thank God and the king, I am delivered, and I am so well pleased that I am, that if it had been told me this was one of the charges intended, I should have owned my remove from the government for a greater favor than my placing in it in the most prosperous time."

NOR doth the earl of Rochester seem to have been insensible to the mortification of assuming the government with such limitations; at least he discovered some reluctance to assuming it. The king seemed again disposed to change his measures and his counsellors: and in this sudden fluctuation, it was natural for a nobleman of figure and consequence, allied to the royal family, not to be very forward to hazard his interest at court by retiring to another kingdom. All projects with respect to the management of Irish affairs appeared suspended. The hopes of the protestant subjects revived, those of the Romanists in Ireland were proportionally depressed, when the death of Charles the Second, attended with the immediate recal of the duke of Ormond, produced a total revolution in the passions and prospects of the several inhabitants, and opened a new scene in this country, worthy of being distinctly considered.

C H A P. V.

The accession of James the Second....Its influence on the catholics and protestants of Ireland....New lords justices....Their conduct....Effects of Monmouth's rebellion....Militia disarmed....Talbot ennobled....Earl of Clarendon appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland....The nation in ferment....Protestant party plundered by robbers, and harassed by informers....Attempt to invalidate the acts of settlement....New lord chancellor....Popish judges and privy counsellors....Favors to the popish clergy....Tyrconnel arrives in Ireland,....models the army....His insolence and meanness....His schemes....Assisted by Nagle....Tyrconnel appointed successor to Clarendon....View of Tyrconnel's character....More changes in the courts of law....Quo-warranto against the charter of Dublin....Other charters resigned or seized....New corporations....Attempts on the university of Dublin....General distress....Attempts to remove Tyrconnel....He meets the king at Chester....His design against the acts of settlement....His agents insulted in London....Birth of a prince....Ridiculous triumph of papists in Dublin....Enterprize of the prince of Orange....Its effects in Ireland....Rumors of a popish massacre....Confusion in Dublin, and in other parts of Ireland....Lord Antrim's regiment excluded from London-Derry....Conduct and proceeding of the garrison....Association of northern protestants....Terror and artifice of Tyrconnel....Reserve of William....Hamilton sent to practise with Tyrconnel....His advice....He is sent against the Northerns....Their retreat....They assemble at Colerain....They fly to Derry....Lundy suspected....Bravery of the garrison....James lands at Kinsale....His arrival at Dublin....He marches against Derry....George Walker....Lundy abandons the passes....Garrison of Derry provoked....Declare for a brave defence....appoint their governors,....regulate their operations....Their

.....*Their resolution.....Kirk arrives in Lake Foyle.....
 He retires.....The garrison still obstinate.....Barbarity
 of Mareschal Rosen.....Piteous distresses of the garrison.
They are relieved in their extremity.....The siege
 raised.....Conduct and successes of the Enniskilleners.....
 Battle of New-town-Butler.*

FOURTEEN years had elapsed since the royal A. D. 1684.
 brothers first betrayed their purpose of establish-
 ing a popish interest in Ireland. Here they
 deemed the experiment less hazardous, and here
 the experiment was made in consequence of their
 private agreement with France. Terrified by the
 spirited remonstrances of an English parliament,
 they suspended their attempts. They renewed them
 when the royal authority seemed above controul;
 Charles, with a careless acceptance of any measures
 which promised to confirm the ascendancy he had
 acquired; James, with a bigotted and passionate
 affection for popery. When his schemes and his
 power were apparently on the point of ruin, he sud-
 denly found himself invested with sovereignty. He
 ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of a
 triumphant faction, which he mistook for the uni-
 versal joy of all his subjects. His religion had not
 been concealed; it was now openly and formally
 avowed.

SUCH a prince unexpectedly seated in such tri-
 umph on the throne of England, naturally inspired
 the popish subjects of Ireland with the most extra-
 vagant expectations. They already saw the victory
 of their religion over all its adversaries; they fan-
 cied themselves already restored to the possessions
 of their fathers; and, roused from that depression
 they had so long endured, they enjoyed the flatter-
 ing prospect of redress, of power and consequence,
 of royal favor, of every advantage to be derived
 from a king of their own religion. Ormond, whom
 the violent and bigotted of their party considered
 as a mortal enemy, was removed from his govern-
 ment,

Secret
 consults of
 the popish
 party.
 State
 Tracts
 vol. III.
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 of Ireland.

ment, with evident impatience of his continuing in power, even for the shortest time. He was directed to resign the sword immediately to two lords justices. The age and infirmities of the duke were assigned as the cause of his removal; and, in public, Ormond affected to believe this to be the real cause. During his administration a stately hospital had been erected near Dublin for the reception of old soldiers; hither he invited the military officers to an entertainment, and, at the conclusion holding his glass filled to the brim, he thus addressed himself to the company. "See, gentlemen!—They say "at court I am old and cheating.—But my hand is "steady, nor doth my heart fail; and I hope to convince some of them of their mistake.—This to the "king's health."

BUT, however Ormond concealed his sentiments of the king's real purpose, the protestant subjects of Ireland felt the most melancholy apprehensions. They saw the popish gentry crowding in triumph to the capital, busy in consultation, intemperate in their expressions of joy, vaunting their own loyalty, traducing and reviling others. Every rumour of their meetings was received with terror, and every violent expression reported with dismay. Imaginary dangers were discovered in the choice of a new council, though composed of protestants, and in the appointment of two lords justices, who had repeatedly approved their fidelity in this station; Boyle, primate and chancellor, and Forbes earl of Granard. In this time of fear, Boyle was considered by the puritans as a churchman, little removed from popery; Granard was regarded by the churchman as a secretary invidiously advanced to divide the protestant interest. The prelate was indeed impressed with high notions of loyalty, and the earl had married a lady of presbyterian principles; he was the protector of the northern puritans, had humanely screened their teachers from those severities which in England proved both odious and impolitic, and gained them a pension of five hundred pounds annually from government.

BUT

BUT whatever difference was apprehended in the political or religious sentiments of these governors, they now concurred amicably in support of the general interest of protestants, and of the public tranquillity. Futile informations were every day received from papists of plots formed against the king, by those whom they called fanatics. Reports were made by protestants of expressions violent and dangerous, used by popish gentry in their private meetings. But all such officious accusations were equally discouraged. Yet so intolerable was the insolence of papists, and so violent were the clamours of both parties, that Granard intimated a desire of being dismissed from his station. James thought his service so necessary for the present, that in a letter, written with his own hand, he assured him, that nothing should be done in Ireland prejudicial to the protestant interest. These assurances were communicated; and the justices laboured to allay the fears of protestants, by representing the improbability of any scheme being meditated in favor of popery, when the English and Scottish subjects were so numerous and powerful, possessed of all the force and authority of the kingdom.

THE effects of these prudent endeavors to preserve the public peace, were soon discovered on the attempts made in Scotland and England to disturb the government of James. The forces of Ireland, marched with alacrity to the northern province, to be transported, if necessary, and to serve against the adherents of Argyle. During the rebellion of Monmouth, the popish subjects every moment flattered themselves that some puritans at least would endeavour to raise an insurrection in favor of this popular duke: it was even whispered, and believed, that the earl of Granard intended to share his fortunes. But, to the utter disappointment of all such expectations, no commotion was attempted, no signs of disloyalty appeared; every subject of Ireland expressed an abhorrence of Monmouth's attempt, and a resolution to support the reigning prince. Still the virulent

virulent and designing of the popish party spread their futile rumours of plots and insurrections, and affected a deadly terror of fanatics. The vulgar of their communion were assured, that the protestants had formed a conspiracy to cut them off by a general massacre; that they assembled frequently by night, and were on the point of executing their bloody purpose. Some were really alarmed; many pretended fear. They abandoned their dwellings, and concealed themselves from the imaginary danger. Tales were framed, informations taken by magistrates, and transmitted to the state. The lords justices, to allay the ferment, found it necessary to issue a proclamation against "night-meeting," a new species of crime, the invention of malignant and designing men, who wished to give their party the merit of being persecuted; and, by loading their adversaries with odium, to justify any severities that might hereafter be inflicted on them.

JAMES now felt himself possessed of that vigor which a prince derives from a discomfited rebellion. He declared his purpose of employing popish officers in England, and even cautioned his parliament against the presumption of objecting to this exercise of prerogative. In Ireland he proceeded with still less reserve. A letter to the lords justices and council informed them, that the contagion of Monmouth's rebellion had been extensively diffused; that, for the safety of Ireland, it was judged necessary to recal the arms of the militia, and to deposit them in the king's stores. This militia was entirely formed of protestants, embodied, armed, and disciplined by the duke of Ormond. The order for resigning their arms was received with consternation by men trained to an habitual horror of the popish Irish, and who now expected to be exposed defenceless to their fury. This consternation was encreased by the intemperance of papists, who exulted over their rivals, and threatened them, with the vengeance of government, should they

they betray their rebellious purposes, by retaining any arms, even those of their own property. The justices were not without their fears that the proclamation for disarming them might be attended with some commotion. Primate Boyle was employed to practice with the citizens of Dublin, and laboured to dissipate their terror. He exhorted them to display their loyalty, by cheerfully depositing their arms in the king's stores, where they would be well preserved, and lie at hand ready to be resumed on any danger. The citizens resigned their arms with the better grace, by pretending to yield to the force of his arguments. Their example influenced other quarters of the kingdom, and in all places the orders of government were obeyed without apparent reluctance.

THE disarming so considerable a body of protestants was but the beginning of that great work which James now meditated, and which, to the utter dissatisfaction of the impatient Irish, was to be disclosed gradually, and with some degree of caution. A new chief governor was now destined for Ireland, who might act with greater authority, and a more cordial compliance with the king's wishes than could be expected from the present lords justices. All thoughts of employing the earl of Rochester in this kingdom had ended with the life of Charles the Second. He was advanced by his brother-in-law to the dignity of lord high treasurer of England. Talbot, the great patron of the Irish, was created earl of Tyrconnell; and scarcely had the rebellion of Monmouth been subdued, when the Irish catholic clergy, in the fullness of their zeal, and pride of imaginary consequence, framed a petition to the king, that he would be pleased to establish this earl in such authority in Ireland, as might secure them in the exercise of their functions. But James could not yet resign himself to such counsellors. Talbot had but just now been ennobled, and might be well contented to serve the king's purposes in a station inferior to that of chief governor

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governor. He was unpopular, and even odious to many of the English nation, and the king himself knew that he was precipitate and incautious. For the present therefore, he complied with his more moderate counsellors; and the earl of Clarendon, his other brother-in-law, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

THE king's near affinity to Clarendon, and the exalted principles of loyalty and submission which this lord professed, and which was indeed the fashionable language of courtiers, persuaded James that he might not be averse to promoting his designs; nor were they entirely concealed from him. In his public instructions, the king intimated a desire of introducing catholics into corporations, and investing them with magistracies and judicial offices. At the same time, some condescension was to be shewn to the terrors and suspicions of the protestant party. The new lord lieutenant was commanded to declare, that his majesty had no intention of altering the acts of settlement. Thus, by ascertaining the bounds which he was not to pass, James reserved the liberty, and almost intimated his purpose of indulging the Irish catholics in every other particular.

Clarend.
Let.
vol. I.
p. 113.
4to.

Ibid.
vol. II.
p. 283.

LORD CLARENDON, in his speech to the privy council on receiving the sword of state, expressed his satisfaction at assuming the administration in such perfect peace and quietness. But in this he was insincere, or greatly deceived; for, at this juncture, Ireland was in considerable ferment. No sooner had the protestant militia been dismissed, than those savage banditti, called tories, issued in vast numbers from their private haunts, to the extreme terror and annoyance of the civilized and industrious. The English were defenceless against their ravages; the Irish would not suppress their friends and kinsmen. The grievance was so manifest and urgent, that Clarendon was empowered to restore some arms to those who were fit to be entrusted, and most exposed to depredations; but he

was

was too cautious to exercise this power with the necessary speed and alacrity. In the mean time the protestant subjects not only became a prey to robbers, but were exposed to the malice of another set of miscreants still more detestable. A number of informers suddenly started up in various quarters, and laboured to involve their neighbours in the guilt of treason. They tortured their inventions for plausible fiction, or ransacked the memories for the casual conversations of several years past, in order to accuse the English inhabitants of words spoken against the king when duke of York. The protestant who exacted rent from his tenant, he who repelled the violence of a tory, he who had at any time given any offence to his neighbour, was suddenly accused, sometimes imprisoned, exposed to a litigious prosecution, or harassed with continual apprehensions from revenge and perjury. Informations multiplied in every part of Ireland, and were daily heaped on the lord lieutenant. He saw clearly through their falsehood and malice, yet could not venture openly to discourage them, as the king retained an unprincely resentment of offences committed against him before his accession, and as he affected a particular jealousy of the protestant subjects in Ireland.

The Irish catholics were no strangers to this prepossession of the king, nor were their leaders inattentive to take advantage of it. Though they could not yet attempt to subvert the act of settlement, yet they prepared a petition for the relief of those who had suffered by these acts; an application not in itself entirely unreasonable, but justly offensive in the manner of it; for it was agreed to chuse agents from the several counties, who, without any intervention of the lieutenant, were to repair to England, and address themselves directly to the throne. The more moderate of their party refused to concur in a proceeding disrespectful to the governor, who had acted with lenity, and even some degree of indulgence to the Irish catholics.

Their

Clarend.
let.
vol. I.

Ibid.
vol. I.
p. 27.
et alib.

Their next petition, therefore, was conveyed to him; and in this they had the hardiness to desire a general reversal of the outlawries occasioned by the rebellion of the year sixteen hundred and forty-one. This, as lord Clarendon expresses it, "would greatly alarm the English, and perhaps startle some of the Irish too, who had gotten new estates." And, however the case of some particulars might have merited attention and favor, yet the petition, if granted in its full extent, must have been considered as the previous step to an utter subversion of all establishments of property. But the Irish knew no moderation in their demands. Their gentry crowded round Whitehall, and were graciously received. Hither Tyrconnel had repaired on the arrival of lord Clarendon in Ireland. He made such representations of Irish affairs as suited the interests of his party, or gratified the violence of his passions, and was heard with perfect confidence by his deluded master.

Clarend.
Let.
vol. I.
p. 88.

Vol. I.
passim.

It soon appeared that the power of this lord was irresistible, and that the most violent and offensive measures were most agreeable to the cabinet. The seals of Ireland were suddenly taken from primate Boyle, and a new chancellor was sent from England, Sir Charles Porter, a man whose distressed circumstances promised to render him implicitly submissive to the court. Three protestant judges, without any reason assigned, any objection alleged against their conduct, were at once removed; in their places, two popish lawyers of Irish birth, Nugent and Daly, and one Ingolsby, an Englishman, were raised to the bench; and when Ingolsby declined this preferment, Rice, another Irish lawyer, not of unexceptionable character, was chosen to supply his place. In vain did lord Clarendon represent, that the admission of Roman catholics into offices of trust and honor, without taking the oath of supremacy, was contrary to law. To James such language was impertinent and uncourtly. All these new popish judges, and some popish lawyers, were admitted

admitted into the privy council of Ireland, an honour not hitherto conferred on men of their rank. Rice was ashamed of such advancement, and hesitated; Nagle, an active and skilful lawyer of the popish party, and greatly favored by Tyrconnel, declined to accept an honour which would interfere with the business and solid advantages of his profession.

EVEN the rumours of such changes and appointments were sufficient to alarm the English protestants. Traders sold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they expected a speedy establishment of popery, and a total confusion of property. To console him from the loss of his regiment, the earl of Granard was appointed president of the council, an office hitherto unknown in Ireland: but, declining to accept this honor, and declaring his purpose to retire from public business, he increased the apprehensions of his party by thus discovering his own. The Irish, instead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favor, seemed rather solicitous to augment the terror of their rivals. They boasted their correspondence with Whitehall, and their intelligence of every purpose of their favorite monarch. They talked with confidence of alterations to be made in the army; they whispered their expectations of some extraordinary changes in ecclesiastical affairs. The archbishopric of Cashel was vacant, nor could the king be persuaded to fill it up. The popish clergy did not scruple to report that he had written to the pope to nominate a new archbishop. And, although this seems to have been the mere suggestion of their vanity, yet it soon appeared that the revenue of this, and other vacant sees, were reserved for the maintenance of popish bishops. Orders were issued by the king's command that the catholic clergy should not be molested in the exercise of their functions; and these were soon followed by a notification of the royal pleasure, that their prelates should appear publicly in the habit of their order. The protestant clergy were prohibited from treating of controversial points

Clarend.
Lett.
vol. I.
p. 107.
& passim.
A. D.
1696.

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 Let.
 May 8.
 July 20.

in the pulpit. In this particular their conduct was strictly watched; and whoever presumed to glance the slightest reflection on popery, was instantly delated to the king, and marked as disaffected and seditious.

To encrease that gloom now evidently impressed on every protestant, the earl of Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland with power to command and regulate the army, independent of the lord lieutenant, with particular orders for the admission of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace, and with a number of new military commissions, whereby the old protestant officers were suspended, and the worst and meanest of the catholic party substituted in their place. His natural violence was enflamed by the extravagant adulations with which the popish party received their patron and protector, and prompted him to the most insolent and contemptuous treatment of the lord lieutenant. He raved of the iniquity of the acts of settlement, of misconduct in the whole administration of Ireland, of the baseness and disloyalty of particular persons. He proceeded to execute the king's commands with furious impatience: officers and private men were dismissed from the army, without any plausible cause assigned, frequently with abuse and contumely, sometimes with injustice and cruelty. Their places were supplied by Irish catholics; and, in all preferments, those Irish only were taken in, who entertained the highest notions of the authority of the pope. The vulgar, in their astonishing ignorance, when they had taken the oath of fidelity, imagined that they had sworn fidelity to the pope and their religion, and declared that their priests had forbidden them to take any other oath.

THE king's instructions to Tyrconnel implied no more than that all subjects indiscriminately should be admitted to serve his majesty, without regard to their religious principles; but this lord issued strict orders that none but catholics should be admitted into the army. Lord Clarendon was offended, and

remon-

remonstrated against a conduct which must enflame the jealousies already raised amongst the king's subjects. Tyrconnel was for a moment confounded, and had the meanness to deny his own orders. But lord Roscommon, with the spirit of a soldier, asserted to his face; that he and other officers had received these orders from him in terms the most peremptory and explicit.

Clarend.
Lett.
July 22.

THE bolder and more violent of the popish party declared, that in a few months not one protestant would be left in the army; and now that they had gotten arms, they would speedily regain their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants against paying any rent to their English landlords; and, with the same insolence, some popish clergy forbade the people to pay tythes to protestant incumbents.

THE earl of Clarendon was every day alarmed with intelligence of these extravagancies, and every day insulted by the violence of Tyrconnel. He was even accused of reluctance in obeying the king's orders, because he did not at once pour in numbers of catholic freemen into every corporation, and establish catholic magistrates in every county, before he could inform himself of their claims, characters, and qualifications. The principles in which he had been trained taught him an implicit submission to his sovereign; and that it was his part only to represent the impropriety and danger of such orders as he disapproved, without presuming to disobey them, or to retire from his station. Agreeably to these principles, he remonstrated both to the king and Sunderland against the heat and presumption of Tyrconnel; yet with a pliancy which at this day reflects no honor on his character, declared the utmost readiness to execute the king's purposes, whatever they might be, though in a manner less offensive and alarming.

To quiet the suspicions and fears of protestants, he recommended a commission of grace for confirming titles, and a general pardon for offensive words spoken

Claren.
Isett.
vol. II.
p. 18.

spoken against the king while duke of York, to put an end to litigious prosecutions. But Sunderland returned no answer to his representations, and was even suspected of secreting his letters from the king; nor did James vouchsafe any explanation of his sentiments. He now positively refused to repeat his former assurances of maintaining the acts of settlement by a proclamation. Tyrconnel was left at liberty to proceed in his usual course of violence. Having already filled one complete moiety of the army with Irish catholics, he hastened to England, denouncing the terror of his influence against all those who had not served the king with sufficient ardour. He was attended by Nagle, the ablest, most acute, and artful of the Irish lawyers, a violent impugner of the acts of settlement, and who was now to employ all his artifice to persuade the king, if not utterly to rescind, at least to invalidate these acts. The case of many sufferers who could not be restored to their estates from the want of lands to reprice the present possessors, afforded arguments sufficiently plausible, and which a man of his abilities could enforce with great advantage. But several of the king's counsellors retained a warm affection for what was called the English interest in Ireland; they dreaded the violence of Tyrconnel and his projector, and the danger of breaking in on those establishments of property which had subsisted for twenty years, and by which the country had been remarkably improved. Their representations had some effect upon the king. Nagle could not immediately be admitted to kiss his hand, and was at length received with evident coldness. But his patron, and the more violent of the popish party, resolved to make some use of his abilities. They employed him to write a treatise on the injustice of the acts of settlement. It was published in the form of a letter from Coventry, and hence known, and much spoken of in those days, by the name of "the Coventry Letter."

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Consults,
&c.

IN the mean time, Clarendon was accused to the king of male-administration in several instances, alleged without regard to candour or veracity. His defence was clear and satisfactory; but his brother, Rochester, refused to renounce his religion, and was removed from his office of treasurer. He himself was not found an instrument suited to all the designs, wildly conceived and hastily pursued by the bigotted or insidious counsellors of a bigotted and deluded king. The appointment of a successor to lord Clarendon became an object of deliberation in the cabinet. Several lords were proposed and rejected by the king. Sunderland, the present minister, flattered the partialities of his master, by recommending the unworthiest and most dangerous of all the competitors. Tyrconnel stipulated to pay him an annual pension from the profits of the Irish government, and by his interest was appointed chief governor of Ireland, with the inferior title of lord deputy.

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Lett.
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of Ireland.

AND here, it may not be improper to view the character of this lord more nearly than it hath been hitherto exhibited. A native of Ireland, descended from the race of old English of the Pale, he came into the world about the time when this race were particularly united with the original Irish; and, from concurring in their political intrigues, were led to concur in their insurrection. From his infancy he imbibed his sentiments in religion and politics from the most bigotted to popery, and the most hostile to English government. In his youth he had been witness of the carnage at Drogheda; and on his escape from this infernal scene, naturally retained a violent abhorrence of fanatics, in which denomination he included all of the protestant party. Obsequiousness and vivacity recommended him to the royal brothers on the continent, at a time when an obsequious and lively associate was particularly suited to the vacant hours of their exile. Here he discovered his resentment and his spirit in no very honorable manner, by proposing to assassinate Oliver

ver Cromwell. When provoked by the supposed injuries of his party, he afterwards threatened to turn his poignard on the duke of Ormond: but in such menaces he discovered more of passion and malignity than of resolution. He was incautious and precipitate; virulent in his censures, with a disregard to truth, which even became proverbial; furious in his animosities to a degree of apparent frenzy, yet not with that placability which sometimes attends the sudden start of passion; his revenge was steadily and unalterably pursued; his attachment to the popish party was merely factious, without attention or regard to the different modes of religion, for his life was profligate, and his conversation profane. In the vanity of that power he gradually acquired, he insulted his superiors, and tyrannized over those below him: to the one his deportment was vulgar, to the other brutal. If at any time, he condescended to artifice and insinuation, this violence to his natural temper was soon discovered, for the least disappointment cast him into a paroxysm of rage. Every step of his exaltation was gained by bribery and flattery, and enjoyed without temper, justice, or decency.

Clarend.
Diary.

To this popish delegate of a popish prince, lord Clarendon resigned the sword of state, in a general and violent agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the port of Dublin, attended by fifteen hundred protestant families of Dublin, who abandoned a country where the peace, the property, and the lives of protestants were exposed to the malice of the meanest and most malignant of a party now exulting in the fullness of their triumph, with their friend and patron in supreme authority, attended by popish ministers and officers of state. Sir Charles Porter had not proved so pliant as the king expected. He demeaned himself to all parties with that equity and impartiality which suited his station, and declared against being instrumental in any illegal or clandestine designs. He was removed from his

his office, and Sir Alexander Fitton placed at the head of the Chancery in Ireland, a man convicted of forgery, and publickly stigmatised, but who redeemed the infamy of his character by conforming to the king's religion. An appointment so odious and alarming, was soon followed by substituting Nagle, the popish lawyer, as attorney-general, in the place of Sir William Domville, a protestant, long distinguished by his loyalty and abilities. Nugent and Rice were advanced to the station of chief judges; Irish papists were chosen to succeed them, and three protestants only were suffered on the benches, Keating and Worth, who were supposed implicitly obedient, and Lyndon, a man of meanness and insignificance. In courts thus supplied were the validity of outlawries and forfeitures, the titles of protestants, and the claims of papists to be determined.

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ALMOST the whole army of Ireland was by this time formed of Irish catholics, and a number of protestant officers deprived of commissions which they had purchased, and gradually driven from the kingdom, sought shelter in Holland, poured out their grievances to the prince of Orange, and were by him protected and employed. The admission of catholics into the several corporations had proceeded slowly during the administration of lord Clarendon; and some more compendious method was to be devised, to invest this party with the whole power of the kingdom, and especially the power of modelling all future parliaments. Tyrconnel addressed himself to the city of Dublin, and without the decency of assigning any plausible pretence, recommended to them to resign their charter to the king. They hesitated; he grew more peremptory; they still delayed their answer; in a rage of passion he loaded them with reproaches, and thundered out the severity of the royal vengeance on their perverseness. It was vain to urge reason to the deputy, or to expect justice from him. Their recorder was dispatched to Whitehall; introduced to the king by

A. D.
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by the duke of Ormond, presented their petition, setting forth their loyalty and services, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with disgrace. A quo warranto was immediately issued, and judgment hastily pronounced against their charter. Many other corporations were dissolved by the same procedure within the short course of two terms. Some corporations were either flattered or intimidated into a surrender of their charters. In several instances, a new charter was granted to such men as the attorney-general approved, who were put in possession of the corporation by a popish sheriff, and the former possessors left to bring their action before popish judges against the intruders; or, where these had greatest power, the ancient members were imprisoned for their disobedience.

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In forming the new corporations it was the general rule, that in great cities where the English interest had been predominant, two-thirds of the members should be catholics, and one-third protestants; but those called protestant were chosen from quakers, or other enthusiasts, from the poor, the profligate, and contemptible. And although lords and gentlemen of the adjacent country were taken into every corporation, yet it was found necessary, in order to complete these bodies, to receive an additional number of the most scandalous and barbarous Irish; so that in one northern city, a man was made chief magistrate who had been condemned to the gallows.

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of Trin.
Col. Dub.
MS.

From the invasions made by James on the learned bodies of England, it cannot be expected that the university of Dublin, the only protestant seminary in Ireland, should have been entirely unattempted. It was indeed an object of particular envy to those who wished to make the whole island papal; and lord Clarendon had not yet been removed, when the king's mandate was presented to the governors of the university, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman catholic, to a professorship, with all its emoluments and arrears of salary. It was styled in
the

the king's letter a professorship of the Irish language; and so ignorant were his advisers, that no such establishment had ever been made. The founder and his grant, the office and its emoluments, existed only in their imaginations. Green was thus disappointed; but the university expected some farther attacks with the most melancholy apprehensions. They shared in the general consternation of protestants on the appointment of Tyrconnel to the government of Ireland; and with the timidity of retired men, seem to have expected every violence from a popish administration.

IN these terrors they resolved to convert most of their plate into money, for the purpose of erecting new buildings or purchasing new lands. The consent of their visitors was obtained, and the consent of Clarendon for transporting the plate (duty-free) into England, as to a better market. In the mean time, Tyrconnel arrives, is informed of this transaction, seizes the plate in the port of Dublin, and deposits it in the king's stores. The more moderate of his advisers, ashamed of this tyranny, interposed, and prevailed on him to restore it to the university. The plate was sold; when, in an instant all the absurd fury of Tyrconnel was rekindled. The purchaser appeared before him. Nugent the lord chief justice, with astonishing impudence, accused him of purchasing stolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged him to give security to prosecute the governors of the university. Happily Nagle was possessed of more reason and tempter, and by the authority of his opinion, defended them from any farther outrage. But the terror of this senseless violence of Tyrconnel had not yet subsided, when another letter from the king directed that one Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, without taking any oaths but the oath of a fellow. The man was wretchedly insufficient, and scandalously profligate; but he was lately reconciled to popery, and the merit of his conversion was to be rewarded. Yet here again the ignorance of his

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patrons happily defeated the purposes of their party. The oath of a fellow included in it the oath of supremacy, and this Doyle refused to take. The terms of the king's mandate were so explicit, that the popish judges directed him to procure a second letter; and his character was proved to be so infamous, that his friends were ashamed to make any farther effort in his favor. The vexation of Tyrconnel at this disappointment was expressed in a manner worthy of him: he stopped the pension annually paid to the university from the exchequer; and which, at this time, made the most considerable part of their subsistence.

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AND now the kingdom every where resounded with complaints of the meanness, the ignorance, and brutality of popish sheriffs, scandalous partialities in the courts of justice, the insolence and barbarities of military officers, robberies unrestrained and unpunished, broils wildly raised, and murders wantonly committed, a fearful decay of trade, and a defiance and contempt of law. Outlawries were daily reversed; the sons of rebels and murderers stood foremost in the favor of government; hinds and menial servants gained offices of trust and authority, and insulted their former masters. Indigent men suddenly advanced, had no other means of supporting their new stations, but by involving themselves in debts which they were neither able nor inclined to discharge, and even forcing goods from tradesmen, who trembled at their brutal arrogance. The credit of merchants was destroyed; numbers of artificers were reduced to beggary, or driven to other countries for subsistence; and so ignorant were the popish ministers, that they beheld such instances of public calamity without concern, as if it were only the calamity of protestants.

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land, Se-
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BUT the alarming decrease of the Irish revenue had its full impression on those English ministers, whose views were not solely confined to the establishment of popery. They imputed it

it to the misconduct of Tyrconnel; they inveighed against his violence. Lord Bellasis declared with particular warmth, that his folly and madness were sufficient to ruin ten kingdoms, and urged the king to appoint a wiser and more temperate governor for Ireland. To avert the impending storm, Tyrconnel obtained permission to attend his royal master, now in his progress at Chester. He committed his government to the hands of chancellor Fitton and lord Clanricarde, reminding these and his popish counsellors of the fullness of that power they had now acquired in the kingdom; and, with hideous indecency, praying God to damn them should they ever part with it. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, attended him to Chester; and his abilities were of use. James listened to his representations of the state of Ireland: and these were so plausibly calculated to recommend his patron, that the king accounted himself justified in remitting Tyrconnel to his government. Several addresses were sent from Ireland to Chester. That of the university declared, that while they retained their religion they could not depart from their loyalty. James, in his short answer, assured them that he had no doubt of the loyalty of any of the church of England. Yet Tyrconnel was instructed on his departure to dismiss almost all the protestant officers now remaining in the army.

The popish ministers of Ireland were by this time so secure and confident, that as they had no common enemy to contend with, they found leisure to contend with each other. One Sheridan, secretary of state and commissioner of the customs, had been restrained by Tyrconnel in his practice of selling employments: fired with resentment, and relying on the countenance of his kinsman, father Petre, he resolved to ruin the lord deputy. With the assistance of the popish primate, he drew up an accusation against him, which was transmitted to London, and which Tyrconnel encountered by a particular

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ticular detail of his briberies, and other sinister practices. The progress of their contest was too mean and insignificant to merit a recital. It is sufficient to observe, that the influence of Sunderland proved superior to that of Petre. Sheridan was dismissed from his employments; but the triumph of Tyrconnel was not without some mortification and disgrace. To revenge himself on the popish primate, the king was made to solicit the pope that he would appoint a co-adjutor to this prelate. Odescalchi, in his contempt of James, absolutely rejected this slight request. Petre, and his associates of the clergy, represented to the king and queen how injurious these altercations of Tyrconnel and Sheridan must prove to the catholic cause, and what advantage its enemies must derive from their quarrels. They expressed the utmost contempt of the lord deputy and his conduct, a man whose services amounted to nothing more than dispossessing protestants of their places, and this effected by raising public discontents and general calamity. The earl of Castlemain, who, since his embassy to Rome, had received no mark of royal favor, was recommended as a person worthy to be entrusted with the government of Ireland, and qualified to answer all the king's purposes.

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Consults,
&c.

THE pope was said to have united in recommending Castlemain. The ministers of France laboured to counteract him. They sent intelligence to Tyrconnel of these secret murmurings and designs. Tyrconnel, on consulting with his friends, Rice and Nagle, deemed it necessary by some brilliant measure to convince the king both of his zeal and abilities. He proposed to convene an Irish parliament, which, as the sheriffs were popish, and the corporations modelled agreeably to his wishes, must prove entirely at the devotion of government. Heads of a bill were framed, with a plausible semblance of relieving the distressed and injured Irish, which unhinged the whole settlement of Ireland, and gave the king power over the greater part of its lands.

Rice

Rice was commissioned to lay this favorite scheme before the English council, and Nugent obtruded himself as his colleague. They were received coldly by the ministers; but James, without any previous conference with the cabinet, where he apprehended some opposition, introduced their scheme to the privy-council, declaring warmly against the iniquity of the acts of settlement. To those who yet retained a regard to the interests of their kinsmen and countrymen, it appeared at first view so violent and dangerous, that the agents were with difficulty admitted to be heard. And however plausibly Rice supported his project, the weakness and futility of Nugent rendered it contemptible. They were insulted even in the royal presence, and dismissed with disgrace. The populace were soon informed of their ill-success; they attended them with potatoes elevated on poles, and roared out in scorn, "Room for the Irish ambassadors!" Such are the general accounts of this transaction. Sunderland, in his apology, claims the merit of their disappointment; and declares, that he rejected a bribe of forty thousand pounds offered for his support of this project.

THE Irish catholics were mortified at this severe A. D. disappointment; but their mortification was soon 1688. allayed by the birth of a prince. Before they were indulged with any hopes of the queen's pregnancy, Claren. they had disposed of the succession agreeably to Lett. I. their own wishes and ignorant conceptions. They vol. II. declared that Fitz-James, natural son of the king, p. 139. should be legitimated by the pope, and thus become inheritor of the crown. There was now no occasion for such devices; their joy was unbounded, and they generally expressed it by the most senseless insolence and outrage. The popish lord mayor of Dublin indeed displayed his triumph over the protestant party by a ludicrous instance of severity. He committed the officers of Christ Church to durance, because "their bells did not ring merrily enough" on this happy occasion.

King's
State of
the Pro-
testants.

IRELAND now exhibited a gloomy scene of oppression and dejection, of insolence and despair, of power exercised without decency, and injuries sustained without redress. That English interest which princes and statesmen had wisely laboured to establish in this country, was discouraged, depressed, and threatened with final extirpation. But new changes and new commotions were at hand. The pride, the obstinacy, and the bigotry of the king, his headstrong and insidious counsellors, his foreign enemies, the spirit of the old republicans not yet extinguished, the just and general indignation of subjects whose rights had been trampled down with scorn, their well-grounded fears for the constitution, their solicitude for religion, all conspired to produce a revolution, the most glorious and important of those events which dignify the annals of the British empire.

Secret
Consults,
&c.
Memoirs
of Ireland,

THE enterprize of the prince of Orange was yet a secret to James, when Tyrconnel, we are assured, received intelligence of his design from Amsterdam, and conveyed it to the king. It was received with derision both by Sunderland and his master. But this infatuated prince was soon awakened to a dreadful sense of his danger; and, on the first certain assurance of an invasion, Tyrconnel was directed to transport four thousand forces to England. Every day ushered in new advices and reports. In Ireland they were received with agitation and astonishment: English and Irish alike rushed in crowds to Dublin, impatient for intelligence, and eager to confirm their hopes or allay their fears, by conferring with their associates. The Irish catholics still affected to despise the prince of Orange and his attempt. They exclaimed that the states of Holland were weary of him; and, therefore, were sending him on a desperate enterprize, to end his days on a scaffold like the duke of Monmouth. Nugent, the lord chief justice, delivered these sentiments from the bench, and spoke with delight of English rebels hung up every where in clusters. But, advices were
soon

soon received that the prince had landed, that James was deserted by his subjects, that the prince advanced that he every day gained new adherents. The Irish and their chief governor forgot their pride, and sunk at once into consternation. Tyrconnel descended to flatter the protestants, to boast of his equal and impartial government, and to court them to make the most favorable representations of his conduct. The English protestants, on the other hand, were roused from their dejection; and no sooner had they received intelligence of commissioners being sent by the king, and a treaty opened with the prince of Orange, than the most spirited among them proposed to seize the castle of Dublin. But the uncertainty of events in England, the well-known severity of James, should he once be extricated from his present distress, and some hopes that Tyrconnel would of himself abandon the government, operated on the more cautious and defeated this design. In the mean time, new commissions were issued by Tyrconnel for levying forces. They were granted to all who would accept them, without paying even the fees of office. The popish clergy enjoined their people to take arms in this time of danger. In every quarter of the kingdom an armed rabble suddenly started up, who called themselves the king's soldiers, and unpaid and unrestrained by government, supported themselves by open depredations. The English inhabitants endeavoured to defend themselves against these marauders, and the whole country seemed gradually to decline from the order and security of social and civil life.

Ibid.
Mac-
kenzie's
Narrative.

A LETTER addressed by an unknown person to lord Mount-Alexander, in the county of Down, warned him of a general massacre intended by the Irish. The style was mean and vulgar: nor was the information on that account less plausible: it was confident and circumstantial, and pointed out Sunday the ninth day of December, as the precise time when this bloody design was to be executed, without distinction

Impartial
Account
of Pas-
sages in
Ireland,
from the
Notes of
an eye-
witness,
4to.
London
p. 1689.

Harris's
Life of
King
William.
Append.
No. xxi.

Mac-
kenzie.

Impartial
Account,
&c.

distinction of sex, age, or condition. The like intelligence was conveyed to some other gentlemen of the northern province. And whether these letters were the contrivance of artifice, or the effect of credulity, their influence was wonderful. Men habitually possessed with horror of Irish barbarity, who in the very scene of all the sufferings of their fathers, had listened from their infancy to hideous narratives of the insurrection in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, who were now exposed to the insolence and violence of the Irish, and ready to catch the alarm at the least appearance of commotion, could not hesitate a moment to give credit to these informations. They were confirmed by some suspicious circumstances. Popish priests had announced to their congregations what they called "a secret intention," and enjoined them to stand ready armed to obey their orders. It was remembered that a friar of Derry had preached with unusual energy on the subject of Saul's destroying the Amalekites, and the iniquity of sparing those whom divine vengeance had devoted to destruction. Lord Mount-Alexander's letter was instantly sent to Dublin; copies multiplied; the intelligence was conveyed through all orders of men. In a moment the capital became a scene of uproar and confusion; the guards of the lord deputy stood astonished; the castle bridge was drawn up, while a tumultuous crowd of men, women, and children, ran precipitately to the shore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Irish. In vain did Tyrconnel dispatch two lords to assure them of security and protection; their remonstrances were drowned in clamor, shrieking, and wailing. An unusual number of vessels lay in the harbour; the people crowded them in an extacy of terror and impatience, leaving their less successful friends stupified with expectation of the fatal blow.

THE dreadful intelligence was soon conveyed to every part of Ireland. In some places it was received

on

very day assigned for the massacre. The people started suddenly from their devotions, fled astonished, propagated the panic, and thus swelled the crowds of fugitives; some gained the coast, and were transported to England, others sought shelter in walled towns and protestant settlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Irish plunderers. In the northern counties, where the protestants were most numerous, they collected the arms still left among them, resolving to defend themselves, and already meditating the design of rising against the present government.

Of all the northern cities, Derry or Londonderry, (as it was called) afforded principal shelter to the fugitive protestants. Seated on the west side of the Lake Foyle, it maintained a communication, by a ferry, with the county called by the same name with the capital: it was surrounded by a firm wall, strengthened by bastions, but was by no means sufficient to sustain the siege of a regular army. On the first alarm of an invasion of England by the prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had recalled the garrison of this city to Dublin. It consisted of a regiment well disciplined and appointed; it was under the command of lord Mountjoy, son of primate Boyle; and being for the most part composed of protestants, was acceptable to the inhabitants. Tyrconnel soon perceived the error of leaving this city to the government of the townsmen, and detached the earl of Antrim's regiment, consisting entirely of papists, Irish and Highlanders, to take their quarters in Derry. A body of twelve hundred men, tall and terrible in their aspect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at a village called Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, at the very moment when the inhabitants received the informations of an intended massacre, and were deliberating on this important intelligence. The proprietor of this village was terrified at the disorder and turbulence of a body, which, in this

Walker's
Diary of
the Siege
of Derry.
Mackenzia.

time of suspicion, seemed rather the instruments of slaughter and barbarity, than the regular forces of government. He instantly dispatched the most alarming accounts to Derry of the number, appearance and destination of his guests, conjuring the citizens to shut their gates against the barbarous crew. His letter found them already alarmed by the general reports of danger. They were collected in their streets, conferring earnestly, some resolute, some wavering, some wishing to exclude the popish forces without appearing to take part in the attempt. Tomkins and Norman, two aldermen, consulted the bishop: the bishop, cautious from years, and, by his principles, an enemy to resistance, preached peace and submission. Some graver citizens concurred with him: others affected to concur. The troops approached; two of their officers were already in the town to provide quarters; an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry-gate. In this critical moment, nine young men of the populace, with an enthusiastic ardor, drew their swords, snatched up the keys of the city, raised the draw-bridge, locked the Ferry-gate, were instantly joined by numbers of their own rank, secured the other gates, assembled in the great square, deaf to all timid counsels and remonstrances, seized the magazine, and were soon countenanced and applauded by men of better condition. The body of inhabitants caught the same spirit, and declared for a brave defence. Their numbers were quickly increased by a conflux from the neighbouring districts; the magazine afforded them some few arms, and a small quantity of ammunition. Philips of Limavaddy, the man who first encouraged them to this enterprize, was chosen their governor. They threatened to fire on the king's soldiers, and conjured their neighbours to concur with them in defence of their lives, their properties, and religion.

To the society of London they immediately transmitted an account of their dangers and proceedings;

ceedings; and Cairnes the most considerable of their party was commissioned to solicit succours from the prince of Orange. At the same time, their magistrates and graver citizens, anxious for the event of an enterprize, commenced under every disadvantage, addressed themselves to lord Mountjoy, and, by his mediation, to Tyrconnel. They set forth their utter inability to restrain the populace, terrified by the rumors of a massacre, and the outrages of the new-raised regiment; ascribing their insurrection to providence, who had stirred them up for their own safety and the public peace, against the wild attempts of the northern Irish. They declared their resolution to confine themselves entirely to self-defence, without violating their allegiance; at the same time, they represented the vast number of northern protestants who had been driven to take arms from the same fears, and for the same purposes.

Apology
for the
Protest. of
Ireland.
State
Tracts,
vol. III.
Mackenzie.

TYRCONNEL, too late, perceived his error in withdrawing his garrison from Derry, and endeavoured to correct it. Lord Mountjoy, and Lundy his lieutenant-colonel, were instantly remanded to Ulster, with six companies, and ordered to reduce this city. Mountjoy, a protestant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants; his popish forces they detested. They disclaimed all mutinous and seditious purposes, but still expressed their firm purpose to defend themselves. After various conferences, Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly stipulated, that a free pardon should be granted within fifteen days; that, in the mean time, two companies only should be quartered in the city; that the forces afterwards admitted should be formed one half of protestants at least; that until the pardon were received, the citizens should keep the guards; and that all should be left at liberty who desired to remove. Tyrconnel had now the mortification of finding the people of Derry assuming the power of purging and modelling his forces, and dismissing and disarming his popish soldiers.

Walker's
Diary.

soldiers. Mountjoy assumed the command of their city, and was obeyed as a friend and associate. By his advice the arms were repaired, money cheerfully subscribed, ammunition purchased in Scotland, and Cairnes the agent earnestly solicited to procure supplies.

Hamil-
ton's Ac-
tions of
Enniskil-
leners.

Macken-
zie.

THE northern protestants beheld the spirit of the men of Derry with a generous emulation. Enniskillen, the only borough-town in the county of Fermanagh, situated on an island in the narrow part of Lake Erne, and inhabited by a few resolute protestants, refused admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel's popish army. In Down, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, parties arose under the direction of Mount-Alexander, Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and other leaders. Their associations were published in the several counties, declaring, that they had united for self-defence and the protestant religion; that they resolved to act in subordination to the government of England, and to promote a free parliament. County councils were nominated, and a general council, to meet at Hillsborough, which appointed officers, and directed the operations of the associated body.

Secret
Consults,
&c. Me-
moirs of
Ireland.

THE Northerns had the fairer opportunity of forming and strengthening this association, as Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and seemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom. His counsellors represented the vanity of contending with the prince of Orange, and the desperate circumstances of James. He seemed convinced, and ready to resign his government; professed to wait only until it should be demanded from him, and peevishly asked whether he should cast the sword of state over the castle wall. He prevailed on some protestants to notify these his sentiments to their friends in London. Keating, the judge, in a letter to Sir John Temple, enlarged on the distracted state of Ireland, and the jealousies both of protestants and catholics, declaring, that the army was ready to disband, and that

that the deputy only waited for directions from England. In the present unsettled state of affairs in London, such informations were flattering. That momentous interval between the flight of James and the investiture of William with the sovereignty, engaged this prince too busily, and agitated him too violently, to allow any attention to the affairs of Ireland. The English subjects of this kingdom had been lately deprived of a powerful advocate, by the death of the duke of Ormond. Their applications were now made to lord Clarendon; and soon after the arrival of the prince in London, some gentlemen of Ireland requested this lord to present them to his highness, in order to lay before him the state of their country. Clarendon was by no means acceptable to the prince: he had, with great severity, condemned the forward desertion of his son lord Cornbury; and although he himself soon followed his example, yet he was thought cold to the interests of the prince of Orange, and affected to treat the design of seating him on the throne with indignation and disgust. It is also said, that William had some secret intimations, that on the settlement of the nation, Clarendon entertained hopes of returning to his Irish government; that Tyrconnel hated him, and that nothing was so likely to confirm him in a desperate opposition, as any countenance shewn to this lord and his pretensions. However this may be, he could not be admitted to the prince without various delays, and was at length received with coldness. When the prince was obliged to receive a formal address of the protestant subjects of Ireland, sensible that it was not at present in his power to assist them, he returned a concise and phlegmatic reply: "I thank you; I will take care of you."

Clarend.
Diary.Secret
Consults
&c.Clarend.
Diary.

WHAT he had neither leisure nor power to attempt openly, William laboured to effect by practising secretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a popish general, sent into England on the first alarm of an invasion, was, in some sort, his prisoner.

Memoirs
of Ireland.

He

Mem. de la Fayette. He was esteemed a man of honor, had served with reputation in France, but was banished on account of his imprudent addresses to the king's daughter, princess of Conti. He was recommended to the prince as one who had considerable influence on Tyrconnel. He proposed to repair to Ireland, and confer with his friend the deputy, expressing the utmost confidence of persuading him to resign his government, and promising to return should he prove unsuccessful. William readily embraced this overture. Hamilton arrived at Dublin; but, instead of executing his commission advised Tyrconnel to maintain his station, assuring him, that the affairs of England began to wear an aspect favorable to James, and that nothing but the firmness of his friends was necessary to reinstate him. Tyrconnel was thus determined in his measures, and Hamilton continued, and was employed in Ireland.

STILL the deputy found it necessary to dissemble. He assured the protestant lords of his readiness to submit to the prince of Orange. By the warmth of his expressions, which was mistaken for the effect of conviction, and sincerity, he persuaded lord Mountjoy to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief baron, Rice, to represent the weak condition of Ireland, and the necessity of yielding to the times, instead of exasperating his English subjects by a futile attempt to conquer England by his Irish powers. He even intimated, that if the king should refuse to surrender Ireland, he should regard the refusal as the effect of force, and deem himself fully warranted to resign his authority. In accepting this unpopular commission, Mountjoy, was careful to stipulate with Tyrconnel, that no more levies should be made, no more arms or commissions given out, no more troops commanded into Ulster, no persons imprisoned, no private house disturbed by soldiers. He departed, and on his arrival at Paris was committed to the Bastile, while Rice employed himself in soliciting succours for the service

service of his master. At Dublin, Tyrconnel grew outrageous; he utterly denied the stipulations made with Mountjoy; the arms yet remaining in the hands of protestants were wrested from them by his soldiers in every place subject to his power, their horses seized, their persons insulted, and their houses plundered. Temple, son of Sir William, at whose instances Hamilton had been employed, was pierced too deeply by these melancholy effects of his advice, and in the bitterness of vexation put an end to his own life.

THE deputy was farther encouraged by a messenger from king James, assuring him that he would soon appear in Ireland with a powerful armament. He had too long suffered the northern associators to proceed unmolested, awed by lord Inchiquin in Munster, who appeared in arms with more zeal than strength; in Connaught, by lord Kingston, who stood at the head of the protestants in this province, and preserved a communication with their brethren of Ulster. The northerns had attempted to reduce Carricfergus, but without success; and, though their powers were greatly magnified, yet the men were inexperienced, their officers unskilful, their ammunition utterly insufficient, their arms such as they had secreted on the general order for disarming protestants. These defects were supplied by zeal and ardour. On assurances of supplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north-eastern towns. But their exultation was speedily allayed. A proclamation by the deputy commanded them to lay down their arms, and to dissolve their assemblies; and they had the mortification to find it subscribed by lord Grattan, and some other protestant counsellors. General Hamilton marched against them with a formidable body of troops. They abandoned Newry; they retired gradually to Dromore; here they were overtaken by the enemy; they fled before their superior numbers, and were pursued with slaughter; they gained Hillsborough, but quickly abandoned this

Secret
Consulta,
&c.
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of Ireland.

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for Protest,
of Ireland,
State
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Mackenzie.

this town, resigned the castle, and continued their flight. They seemed entirely broken; several fled to Britain, others accepted protections from the Irish army. But, by the spirit and authority of Mount-Alexander, Rawdon, and other leaders, about four thousand, were still kept embodied, and took their station at Colerain, in order to prevent the enemy from passing the river Bann: at the same time those of the north-west poured into Enniskillen as their place of refuge.

Impartial
account of
passages
in Ireland,
&c.

THE Irish army were so totally engaged in riot and plundering, that the confederates had time to collect, and to fortify Colerain. Hither lord Blaney found it necessary to lead his party from Armagh. The garrisons of Charlemont, and Mountjoy were informed of his motions and attempted to intercept him, by seizing the bridge at a place named Artrea. He was more alert, and secured the pass just at the moment of their approach. They advanced: he drew up his men and marched to attack them: they fled, were pursued and slaughtered; and this inconsiderable advantage served to animate the Northerns. Colerain was attacked, and the enemy bravely repulsed; but the place was not long found tenable. The Irish, after a successful skirmish, passed the Bann in boats, and the Northerns hasted by various routes to Derry, before the enemy should cut them off from this their last refuge.

FROM the time of lord Mountjoy's departure, the government of this city, and the principal direction of the north-eastern counties had been resigned to Lundy, a man who flattered the protestants by declarations of attachment to their cause, and resolution of fighting bravely, at least against the tyrannical and illegal government of Tyrconnel. Notwithstanding these public professions, he was suspected of retaining a regard to James, and his service. He had frequently disappointed the expectations of the associate-protestants, obliged them to abandon posts thought sufficiently tenable, and by

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an inactive and irresolute conduct, which was not attributed to any defect of courage, became generally suspected. William in his embarrassments was obliged to trust and to employ him; and, when an officer of the name of Hamilton was sent to Derry with arms, ammunition, and money, a commission from the new king was delivered to Lundy to command in the town, and to administer the oaths to all officers civil and military. Some refused the oaths; Lundy would not consent to take them publicly, alleging, that he had already sworn on board Hamilton's vessel. Murmurings and discontents were thus excited among the people: some prepared to abandon a city ready to be betrayed, when Cairnes, their agent, happily arrived from London, with assurances from king William, that troops and supplies were prepared for their relief, and the general service of Ireland. He conjured them by no means to desert a cause so glorious, and which must speedily prove so triumphant. They forgot their suspicions; they declared for a brave defence; the garrison was regulated; provisions distributed; Lundy seemed to have caught the spirit of the people, and announced his resolution of marching to engage the enemy.

Walker's
Diary.
Mackenzie.

In such circumstances, the garrison received a new alarm, and the enemy became still more formidable. James had cast himself into the arms of the French king. Louis commiserated his fallen state, and hated William, who had just declared war against him. Preparations were made for the service of the royal exile; and James, after a mortifying attendance on the ministers, and after various difficulties and obstacles raised by their intrigues, at length effected his embarkation. Fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire ships, attended him at Brest*. About twelve hundred forces of

Mem. de
la Fayette.

VOL. III.

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his

* In fixing on this number, I follow Ralph, and the tract quoted as his authority. Reresby's magnificent account of this embarkation seems only the echo of those rumours which James's party industriously spread in England, with the artifice or vanity usual on such occasions.

his own native subjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, formed his army. The count de Lausun was destined to command it. He conferred the Garter on this favorite; but, as he had not influence sufficient to make him a duke of France, Lausun was disgusted, and declined to take part in the expedition. **Mareschal Rosen**, a German officer, was substituted in his place as lieutenant-general. Louis, we are told, in the ardor of generosity, offered to supply him with a French army. But James seemed to have caught the fire of heroism from his protector, and earnestly replied, that "he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." They parted with mutual expressions of tenderness and affection; and Louis, to dispel the gloom of his friend, gayly expressed his wish never to see him more, as the best he could form for his interest.

**Kennet.
Ralph.**

He sailed from Brest, and on the twelfth day of March landed at Kinsale, resolving, contrary to the sentiments of some of his adherents, to make Ireland the scene of his operations, where his party was numerous, and where he might support a brilliant appearance of royalty. At Cork Tyrconnel appeared to congratulate his master, and expressed his zeal by ordering a magistrate to execution who had declared for the prince of Orange. James instantly created him a duke. In a stately progress he arrived at the capital; and the twenty-fourth day of the same month made his triumphant entry, followed by a splendid train of French, British, and Irish, attended by the count d'Avaux, in the character of ambassador of France, met by the magistrates, and the whole body of popish ecclesiastics, secular and regular, in their proper habits, with the host borne in solemn procession, and adored devoutly by the king, amidst the acclamations of those who favored his cause, and those who could not resist his power.

ADDRESS

A. D.
1689.

ADDRESSES were instantly poured upon him from all orders of people. That of the protestant established clergy touched gently on the distraction of the times, and the grievances they had experienced. He assured them of protection and redress*. To the university he was still more gracious; he promised to defend, and even to enlarge their privileges. But his fairest declarations were received with coldness and suspicion, when all the remaining protestants of the privy council were removed, and their places supplied by d'Avaux, Powis, Berwick, the bishop of Chester, and others of his zealous adherents. He now issued five several proclamations: by the first, he ordered all protestants who had lately abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the severest penalties, and that his subjects of every persuasion should unite against the prince of Orange: the second was calculated to suppress robberies, commanding all catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their several abodes: a third invited the country to carry provisions to his troops: by the fourth he raised the value of money: and the last summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the seventh day of May.

AFTER these first formal acts of sovereignty, James naturally deemed the reduction of the Northerns a peculiar object of his attention. With respect to Derry, the great seat of what in his court was called rebellion, we are told, that different counsels were proposed. Some declared for sending an irresistible force which should at once take the city by storm; others were for blocking it up, and reducing it by famine; others again for pressing it by a slow siege, so as to inure the Irish forces to fatigue and discipline, and to teach them the arts of war.

Burnet.
Fatally

* This account is taken from the appendix of Lesley's answer to King. As the address and answer are there stated at large, it seems to deserve more credit than the representations of some English writers.

Fatally for the interests of James, this last measure was adopted; but to encourage the besiegers, and to confound the stubborn insurgents, he resolved to appear in person, and lead his forces to the walls.

Vindica-
tion of
Walker's
Diary.

Among these resolute and active Northerners who took arms against Tyrconnel and his master, was George Walker, a clergyman of a Yorkshire family, and rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. The danger and turbulence of the time, when the assistance of every man became necessary, called him forth in the defence of law, liberty, and religion; and in a cause the most glorious that a citizen can espouse, he was zealous and indefatigable. He raised a regiment, and commanded it. He flew from post to post, conferred with the leaders, and animated the people, who were the more convinced of their danger when a man of his peaceable profession appeared in arms. As the enemy grew more formidable by the arrival of James, he felt an increasing ardor. He hastened to Derry; he informed Lundy of the approach of this king, reminded him of his former declarations, entreated him to give the enemy battle before their whole strength was collected, and his garrison diminished. Lundy still affected vigor; as the Irish had passed the Bann, he was now to prevent them from crossing the Finn-Water: he stationed his forces for this purpose; but, in the hour of danger, he refused to support them, shamefully abandoned his own post, and hid himself within the walls of Derry, shutting the gates against many of those who sought the same refuge.

Walker's
Diary.
Mackenzie.

In the mean time, two English colonels, Cunningham and Richards, arrived in Lake Foyle with two English regiments. They notified their arrival to Lundy, whose orders they were to obey, advising him to secure the passes he had already abandoned, that if a battle should be necessary, he might engage to more advantage with their reinforcement to support him. On his return to Derry he

he received their letter; his written answer directed them to land; his messenger delivered his orders, that they should leave their men on board, and come to the city with some of their officers to consult on the measures necessary in the present juncture, when there were not provisions for ten days, though all unnecessary persons should be removed. Eleven officers from the ships and five of the town formed a council of war, in which it was readily agreed, in consequence of Lundy's representations, that the place was by no means tenable; that the English regiments should not land; that the principal officers should privately withdraw from the town, and leave the inhabitants to make the best conditions in their power with the enemy. These resolutions were communicated to the town-council, where it was resolved to offer terms of capitulation to James, who now advanced slowly towards the city.

Walker's
Diary.

THESE proceedings were not long a secret to the people; they saw their leaders flying, the English regiments preparing to return to England with all the provisions intended for their relief, although Lundy assured them they should land. They exclaimed against the governor, the council, and every suspected officer; they roared for vengeance against their betrayers. In the phrensy of rage and terror, they slew one officer as he was hastening to escape from the city, another they wounded. In this moment of distraction, Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement, and, although Lundy commanded him to retire, insisted on entering the town, and was received with acclamations. To the soldiers, who eagerly crowded around him, he inveighed against the base purpose of surrendering to a cruel and perfidious enemy, and was heard with rapture. While he expostulated with Lundy, they rushed to the walls, pointed their cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take possession of the city. While the more cautious and timid sent a deputation to

to apologize for this violence of an head-strong populace, they with one voice declared for defence. Governor, councils, magistrates, at once lost all authority. Lundy resigned all care of the city, and concealed himself in his own house. The garrison chose for themselves two new governors, Walker, the gallant ecclesiastic, and one major Baker, that if either should fall they might not be left without command. By direction of these men they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to seven thousand and twenty men, three hundred and forty-one officers.

Walker's
Diary.

WHEN the first sudden agitation had subsided, their resolution grew composed and deliberate. They suffered the timid to depart unmolested. Lundy, by connivance of the new governors, escaped to the ships in a disguise suited to his meanness, bending under a load of match. The stores were viewed, orders issued, and obeyed with regularity; each regiment had its own ground, each company knew its own bastion; they repaired each to their post without any military parade, but without confusion or disorder. Eighteen clergymen of the established church, and seven non-conformist teachers, cheerfully shared the labours and dangers of the siege; and, in their turns, every day collected the people in the cathedral church, and by the fervour of their devotions, and those strains of eloquence which their circumstances inspired, animated and enflamed their hearers. Some jealousies, however, broke out from these different religious parties, even in the hour of their common danger; and one dissenting teacher pronounced those unworthy to fight for the protestant cause, who should refuse to take the covenant. But the discreet and pious of both parties prevailed, preached obedience and mutual union, and laboured to elevate the people to the utmost pitch of that devotional spirit which renders courage irresistible.

AND

AND here one might dwell with astonishment on this desperate attempt of a garrison, in a town meanly fortified and miserably supplied; as yet encumbered with thirty thousand fugitives who could give them no assistance, and assailed by twenty thousand besiegers. But the plain, unstudied, unadorned effusions of their brave governor, Walker, rise above all elaborate description. "It did beget" saith he, "some disorder among us Walker's
 "and confusion, when we looked about us and Diary.
 "saw what we were doing, our enemies all about 4to. Lon.
 "us, and our friends running away from us. A p. 22.
 "garrison we had, composed of a number of poor
 "people frightened from their own homes, and
 "seemed more fit to hide themselves than to face
 "an enemy. When we considered, that we had
 "no persons of any experience in war among us,
 "and those very persons, that were sent to assist us,
 "had so little confidence in the place, that they no
 "sooner saw it than they thought fit to leave it;
 "that we had but few horse to sally out with, and
 "no forage; no engineers to instruct us in our
 "works; no fire-works, not so much as a hand-
 "granado to annoy the enemy; not a gun well
 "mounted in the whole town; that we had so
 "many mouths to feed, and not above ten days
 "provision for them in the opinion of our former
 "governors; that every day several left us, and
 "gave constant intelligence to the enemy; that
 "they had so many opportunities to divide us, and
 "so often endeavoured it, and to betray the go-
 "vernors; that they were so numerous, so power-
 "ful, and well-appointed an army, that in all
 "human probability we could not think ourselves
 "in less danger than the Israelites at the Red-Sea;
 "when we considered all this, it was obvious enough
 "what a dangerous undertaking we had ventured
 "upon. But the resolution and courage of our
 "people, and the necessity we were under, and the
 "great confidence and dependence among us on
 "God Almighty, that he would take care of us
 "and preserve us, made us overlook all those
 "difficulties."

WITH

Walker's
Diary.

With minds thus possessed, they resisted both the persuasions and the assaults of their besiegers. They made their sallies in a manner, unauthorised by military rules. Any officer that could be spared engaged in the adventure, and any soldiers who pleased followed his standard. Such were the repeated successes of this irregular war, that when the besiegers battered the walls, the garrison had the hardiness to advise them to spare their labour and expence, as their gates were ever open, and wider than any breach they could make. Eleven days James continued his assaults with repeated mortifications, and without any prospect of success. Impatient of his disappointments, he left the camp and returned to Dublin, peevishly exclaiming, that if his army had been English they would have brought him the town piece-meal. The only exploit performed in his northern expedition was that of reducing the fort of Culmore, and this he was suspected to have achieved by the help of money.

Ibid.

The garrison of Derry still continued to defeat all the attempts of their besiegers, and to harass them by successful sallies. But they were soon threatened with more terrible enemies, disease and famine. The heats of summer proved even pestilential to men fatigued and confined, and their scanty and unwholesome diet enflamed their disorders. In the heaviness of their affliction, and their melancholy forebodings, they discovered in Lake-Foyle thirty ships, which they doubted not had been sent to their relief from England. These indeed contained troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions, under the command of Kirk; but Kirk was too much hardened against the distresses of his fellow-creatures to make any hazardous attempt, in favour of the garrison. He was alarmed at magnificent accounts of the force and dispositions of an enemy who were cast into consternation at his appearance. He hesitated, and returned no chearful answer to the signals of the besieged. The enemy, encouraged
by

by this irresolution, prepared to oppose his passage: Their batteries were planted, and their forces ranged on each side the lake where it grew narrow towards the city, and from two opposite forts they stretched a boom across the water, formed of strong timber, joined by iron chains, and strengthened by thick cables.

THE fleet, to which the garrison looked for relief, set sail and disappeared. With great difficulty, and after repeated disappointments, they at length received the afflicting intelligence from Kirk, that as he found it impossible to force a passage by the river for his stores and victuals, he had sailed round to lake Swilly, if by any means he might give some diversion to the enemy, and send supplies to the protestant forces collected at Enniskillen. He comforted them, at the same time, with an assurance that he would still relieve them; that more forces were hourly expected from England; that both there and in Scotland affairs were entirely favorable to the new government; that, by the intelligence he had gained, the besiegers could not long continue to invest them; advising them, at the same time, "to be good husbands of their provisions." From this advice they drew a melancholy presage of all their future sufferings.

EVERY day the garrison was lessened by disease, and the wretched survivors more and more enfeebled by fatigue and hunger. Baker, one of their governors, died; they chose an officer of the name of Mitchelburne to succeed him. When numbers of them were scarcely able to support their arms they threatened death to any who should mention a surrender. General Hamilton endeavored to move them by persuasion; they reproached him with his own treachery. Rosen, who was sent to command the siege, and conducted it with vigor and address, thundered out dreadful menaces against them; and thus, by convincing them that no mercy was to be expected, confirmed their resolution. Outrageous

Walker's
Diary.

at this obstinacy, he declared, that if the town were not surrendered by the first day of July, all of their faction through the whole country to Ballyshannon, Charlemont, Belfast, Innisowen, protected and unprotected alike, should be given up to plunder, and driven under their walls, there to perish, unless relieved by a surrender of the town. The appointed day arrived, but the garrison continued their defence. On the next morning a confused multitude was seen hurrying towards the walls. At a distance they were mistaken for enemies; the garrison fired on them, but happily without any damage to the thousands of miserable protestants, of all ages and conditions, infirm, old, young, women, infants, goaded on by soldiers whose ears were tortured with their shrieks, and who executed their hideous orders with tears. The afflicting spectacle transported the garrison to fury. Numbers of the wretched sufferers thus driven to perish beneath their walls, conjured them with bended knees and lifted hands, by no means to consider their distress, but to defend their lives bravely against an enemy, who sought to involve them all in one common slaughter. A gallows was now erected in view of the besiegers; they were assured, that all the prisoners taken by the garrison should be instantly executed, unless their friends were allowed to depart. Confessors were even admitted to prepare them for death; but Rosen was still unmoved. Happily the intelligence of his barbarous intentions flew to Dublin. The protestant bishop of Meath remonstrated to James; he answered, that he had already ordered these captives to be released, observing, that such severities were usual in foreign service, however shocking to his subjects. Those, who survived a confinement of almost three days without sustenance or shelter, were thus permitted to return to their habitations, where the ravages of the soldiery had left them no means of comfort. Some of their ablest men were stolen into the town, and five hundred useless people crowded

King's
State.

Walker.

crowded among them, and passed undiscovered, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy.

THE garrison, with a confirmed horror of the ^{Walker.} besiegers, continued their obstinate defence, and even made desperate and successful sallies when they were too much weakened by hunger to pursue their advantage. The flesh of horses, dogs, and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauseous substances, were purchased at extravagant prices, and eagerly devoured. Even such miserable resources began to fail, and no means of sustenance could be found for more than two days. Still the languid and ghastly crowds listened to the exhortations of Walker; still he assured them from the pulpit that the almighty would grant them a deliverance. While their minds were yet warm with his harangue, delivered with all the eagerness of a man inspired, they discovered three ships in the lake making way to the town. Kirk, who had abandoned them from the thirteenth day of June to the thirtieth of July, at length thought fit, in their extreme distress, to make an hazardous attempt to relieve them; an attempt which he might have made with less danger at the moment of his arrival, and which possibly might still have been deferred, had he not received some intimations of a treaty for surrendering. Two ships laden with provisions, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, advanced in view both of the garrison and the besiegers. On this interesting object they fixed their eyes in all the earnestness of suspense and expectation. The enemy, from their batteries, from their musketry, thundered furiously on the ships, which returned their fire with spirit. The foremost of the victualers struck rapidly against the boom, and broke it, but, rebounding with violence, ran aground. The enemy burst instantly into shouts of joy, and prepared to board her; on the crowded walls the garrison stood stupified by despair. The vessel fired her guns, was extricated by the shock, and floated. She

She passed the boom, and was followed by her companions. The town was relieved, and the enemy retired.

Walher. Of seven thousand five hundred men regimented in Derry, four thousand three hundred only remained to be witnesses of this deliverance; and of these more than one thousand were incapable of service. The wretched spectres had scarceily tasted food, when they had the hardiness to march in quest of the enemy; and some few men were lost by adventuring too boldly on their rear-guard. They retired in vexation to Strabane, having lost eight thousand men by the sword and by various disorders, in a siege of one hundred and five days.

Hamilton's Actions of the Enniskilleners. DURING the whole course of this siege, James's army had been considerably embarrassed in their operations by the Enniskillen-men, so were these protestants named who had collected about Enniskillen, chosen Gustavus Hamilton governor of their little town, and proclaimed William and Mary. Lord Galmoy marched to reduce them, and invested Crom castle, their frontier garrison, seated on Lake-Erne. As he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he recurred to a ridiculous artifice; eight horses were employed to draw two pieces formed of tin, bound with cords, and so coloured as to resemble cannon. With this new species of artillery he threatened to batter the castle. The garrison returned a defiance: and being reinforced from Enniskillen, sallied, and drove the enemy from their trenches, returning in triumph with considerable booty, and the tin cannon which had been drawn up with so much apparent difficulty. Galmoy thus became contemptible; he soon rendered himself detestable. On his march he had taken two youths prisoners, with whom he found commissions from the prince of Orange. He now proposed to exchange them for one of his own officers. The officer was returned, but the youths were executed; and the Northerns thus confirmed in their dread and abhorrence of an enemy that kept no faith

faith. Their numbers daily encreased, their excursions were so successful, and both their numbers and successes were so magnified, that the ruling party at Dublin expected them speedily at their gates. But their real numbers were insufficient for any considerable enterprize, nor were they furnished with arms or ammunition, until their victory over a party of the enemy at Belturbet, and the arrival of Kirk supplied their necessities. They thus became so formidable, that a plan was formed to attack them at once by three different armies. For this purpose, Macarthy, a gallant and experienced officer, lately created a peer, encamped at Belturbet with seven thousand men; Sarsefield, another general equally distinguished, led an army from Connaught; Fitz-James, duke of Berwick, prepared to attack them from the North. But the ignorance of their danger proved the means of their deliverance. They knew only of the motions of the Connaught army. They marched out with a rapidity unexpected and astonishing; they surprised the enemy's camp, and routed them with considerable slaughter. Against the duke of Berwick they were less successful. As he approached to Enniskillen, some companies sent to seize a post which they might defend against his numbers, ventured beyond the bounds prescribed, were surprised, and cut to pieces; but at the approach of Hamilton the governor, Berwick retired.

MACARTHY, the remaining general, was still more formidable: with an army which had already suppressed lord Inchiquin, in Munster, he marched towards Enniskillen, and invested Crom. An officer, called Berry, was detached to the relief of the castle; but, as the enemy advanced against him with a superior body, found it necessary to retreat. He was pursued; a skirmish followed, in which the Enniskilleners were victorious; and the arrival of the main bodies on each side, the one commanded by Macarthy, the other by Wolsley, one of Kirk's officers, produced a general engagement near New-
town-

Hamilton's Ac-
tions of
the En-
niskillen-
era.

town-Butler and Lisnaskea; and from both of these places the battle hath taken its name. The inferior numbers of the Northerns were supplied by an undaunted resolution, and an abhorrence of the enemy. They defeated and pursued them with great slaughter, granting quarter to none but officers. About two thousand fell by the weapons of an enemy transported by zeal and resentment, about five hundred plunged into lake Erne, and but one of all the multitude escaped. The same number were made prisoners, and with these their general, Macarthy. Stung with the disgraceful issue of his expedition, he rushed upon the enemy from a wood, whither he had been driven with a few horsemen, was desperately wounded, and conducted to Enniskillen, expressing fear that his wounds might not prove mortal. The news of this victory was soon conveyed to the army which retired from Derry, and served to precipitate their flight.

CHAP. VI.

James returns to Dublin....His parliament....Bill for repealing the acts of settlement....Cruel act of attainder, ...passed,...concealed,...and discovered....Other acts of his parliament....James levies money by his prerogative....His brass coinage....Meanness and cruelty of his government....His contest with the university of Dublin....Sufferings of the university,...and of the protestant clergy....Insolence of popish clergy,...and bigotry of James....Levies raised for the service of Ireland....Landing of duke Schomberg....Carricfergus surrendered...Schomberg advances...Newry and Carlingford burnt by the duke of Berwick....Irish retreat to Drogheda....Schomberg encamps at Dundalk....His distresses....James offers battle....Schomberg declines it....Conspiracy in his camp....Excursions and success of the Enniskilleners....Misery of the English camp....Schomberg reinforced,...decamps, removes his sick,...retires to winter quarters....Disappointment and discontents of the English parliament....Enquiry into the conduct of the war in Ireland....William resolves to undertake the Irish war....Action at Cavan....James and Schomberg reinforced....Action in the bay of Dublin... Charlemont surrendered....William lands at Carricfergus, ...advances southward...His vigour....His force... Council held by James..He resolves to defend the passage of the Boyne...Situation of his army...William's army encamped near the river....William wounded....False rumours of his death....Deserters, and their reports.... William resolves to pass the river,...Schomberg disgusted ...Disposition of the forces...Battle of the Boyne... James's army defeated...They retreat in good order... James assembles the magistracy of Dublin....His ungracious speech....He flies to France....William advances towards the capital.

WHILE

A. D.
1689.

King's
State.

Leslie's
answer to
King.
Append.

King's
State.

WHILE the armies of James proceeded so unsuccessfully in the northern province, this prince returned to Dublin; and here, in all the state of sovereignty, assembled his parliament. In the upper house a number of new popish lords, and several whose outlawries had been reversed, gave a weight to their party which could not be balanced by four or five protestant lords still remaining in the kingdom, and three prelates summoned by writ to this assembly. The commons were almost entirely composed of men named by Tyrconnel, returned from such counties as were subject to his power, or such corporations as he had previously modelled. The university returned two protestant members, and about four more were admitted from other places. The session was as usual, opened by a speech from the throne, in which James commended the exemplary loyalty and zeal of his Irish subjects: declared his abhorrence of invading either the rights of conscience, or those of property; that it was his firm purpose to establish liberty of conscience wheresoever he had power, without any other test or distinction but that of loyalty; that he would readily consent to any wholesome laws for the good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and the relieving such as had been injured by the late acts of settlement, "as far forth as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good." He enlarged on the generosity he had experienced from the most Christian king; and concluded with repeating his sense of their signal loyalty. Fitton, in the upper house, and Nagle, speaker of the commons, enlarged on this speech: it was echoed by a joint address; and a bill was immediately brought in, containing a recognition of the king's title, and an abhorrence of the prince of Orange and his usurpation.

A DECLARATION was now published by James, addressed to all his subjects of Ireland. In this he expressed a satisfaction, that since his arrival in this kingdom he had demonstrated the falsehood and malice

malice of his enemies, by his favor to protestant subjects, and his protection of their properties, privileges, and religion; hoping that his subjects of England would hence form a judgment of what they might expect from him; and assuring all his subjects of a full pardon, if they should return to their obedience within twenty-four days after his appearance in England. The most obvious rules of policy must have dictated a conduct conformable to this declaration. But in his present petty seat of royalty, James found himself totally enslaved by different factions, and is said to have expressed a sense of his condition. The ambassador, d'Avaux, affected to take the lead in his council, and James was servilely attentive not to afford him any pretence of complaint. All preferments in his army were given to Frenchmen, to the utter discontent and indignation of the Irish. The Irish were consoled by their ascendancy in the new parliament, and with their usual violence resolved to seize the opportunity of providing for their own interests, without even a decent attention to the difficulties and embarrassments of their king. Instead of providing relief for the sufferers by the acts of settlement and explanation, the commons, with a tumultuous shout of joy, received a bill for the repeal of these acts. Dely, the popish judge, inveighed so violently against it, as to incur the censure of the commons, who insisted on calling him to the bar, and obliging him to beg pardon. But in a transport of joy, some false intelligence of the surrender of Derry, they remitted this severity. In the lords, to whom the bill was hastily sent up, the protestant bishop of Meath argued against it both on the principles of justice and of policy; and this, as we are told, by the direction and desire of James. Whatever unfavourable opinion he had formed of the acts of settlement, and however his Irish ministers had possessed him with the hardships their countrymen had sustained from these acts, yet nothing could

True account of the State of Ireland, by a person who, with great difficulty, left Dublin, London, 1689. King's State. Leslie.

more provoke the English, even of his own party, than his countenancing this bill. It therefore seems natural to expect, that he must have expressed some disapprobation of it. But it was not only a favorite object of the Irish, but warmly recommended by the French ambassador; and their united powers were not to be resisted. When an address against the bill was presented by the purchasers under the acts of settlement, James coldly replied, "that he could not do evil, that good might result from it." When some peers proposed to enter their protest, he observed, that protests were usual only in rebellious times.

King's
State.

THE bill for repealing the acts of settlement was thus passed, with a preamble which exculpated the Irish from rebelling in sixteen hundred and forty-one; and a clause whereby the real estates of all those who dwelt in any of the three kingdoms, and did not acknowledge king James's power, or who aided or corresponded with those who rebelled against him, since the first day of August sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, were declared to be forfeited and vested in the king. Thus, by a strain of severity at once ridiculous and detestable, almost every protestant of Ireland who could write was to be deprived of his estate.

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State,
Append.

BUT this Irish parliament was not contented with recovering the estates of their ancestors, and expelling the protestant proprietors, by virtue of their present act. In the fullness of triumphant insolence, they resolved on a proscription as virulent as that of Rome. An act was passed by which a number of persons in the service of the prince of Orange, those who had retired from the kingdom, and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation, numbers who were resident in Britain, and therefore presumed to be adherents to the new government, were all attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unless they surrendered within certain periods assigned. It was provided, that the estates even of those who were detained

detained abroad by sickness, or non-age, should be seized by the king; and, in defiance of justice and humanity, they were to prove their own innocence before they could be restored. Two thousand four hundred and sixty-one persons, of all orders and conditions, peers, peeresses, prelates, baronets, knights, clergy, gentry, and yeomanry, were included in this dreadful sentence. Their names were hastily collected by their respective neighbours, and received with so much ease and precipitation, that Nagle, on presenting the bill to James, declared, that "many were attainted on such evidence as" satisfied the house, and the rest on common "fame." It was so framed as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning, after the first day of November, 1689. In the mean time, a statute which affected the lives and properties of so many thousands, was carefully concealed from them, and lay unknown in the custody of the chancellor. At King's length, when four months had elapsed from the day limited for pardoning, Sir Thomas Southwell obtained a view of this fatal act for the instruction of his lawyer, who was to draw a warrant for his pardon, which James had promised. Nagle was surprised and enraged at this discovery: after some evasions, he insisted, that the king was merely a trustee for the forfeitures, and had now no power of pardoning Southwell. Nothing remained for James but to reproach his attorney-general for having framed an act intrenching on his prerogative.

Of the other acts made in this assembly, the more remarkable were a supplement to the bill of attainder, by which the personal estates of absentees were vested in the king; one declaring that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and against writs of error and appeals to England; one for liberty of conscience; another which took away the provision formerly made for ministers in towns corporate; and one for entitling the Romish clergy to all tythes and ecclesiastical dues payable
by

by those of their own communion. In some few instances James is said to have still discovered an attention to the sentiments of the English: he opposed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poynings' law; nor would he consent to establish Inns of court in Ireland for the education of law-students, a point so long and so ardently pursued by the Irish catholics.

King.

BUT the execution of his government corresponded with the enormous excesses of his legislature. The parliament had granted him a monthly subsidy of twenty thousand pounds to be levied from lands. A tax so grievous was yet insufficient for his purposes. While the parliament yet subsisted, he issued a proclamation by virtue of his prerogative royal, imposing another tax of the same rate on all chattles. Some of his own council ventured to remonstrate against this arbitrary proceeding, and reminded him of the advantage it must give his enemies. But James had forgotten all scruples, for he could not obtain money from France. He resented the interposition of his counsellors; he insulted them with their own declaration, that it was a branch of his prerogative to levy money. "If I cannot do this," said he, "I can do nothing."

King.
Simon
Irish
Coins.

AN exhausted country could scarcely supply these demands; and oppressive as they were, yet an extensive military establishment required new resources. In defiance of law, reason, and humanity, the king chose one resource, which has rendered his name horrible to Irish protestants. By seizing the tools and engines of one Moore, who, by virtue of a patent of the late king, enjoyed the right of a copper-coinage in Ireland, he established a mint in Dublin and Limerick. Brass and copper of the basest kind, old cannon, broken bells, household utensils, were assiduously collected; and from every pound-weight of such vile materials, valued at four pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the first proclamation they were made current in

in all payments to and from the king and the subjects of the realm, except in the duties on importation of foreign goods, money left in trust, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promised that when this money should be decreed, he would receive it in all payments, or make full satisfaction in gold and silver. His soldiers were now paid in this coin; it was poured on the protestant traders. The nominal value was raised by subsequent proclamations; the original restrictions were removed, and this base money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As brass and copper grew scarce, it was made of still viler materials, of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on protestants with many circumstances of insolence and cruelty. Old debts of one thousand pounds were discharged by pieces of vile metal, amounting to thirty shillings in intrinsic value. Attempts were made to purchase gold and silver at immoderate rates with the brass money; but this was quickly forbidden on pain of death; and when protestants attempted to exonerate themselves of these heaps of coin, by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom, James, by proclamation, set a rate on these commodities, demanded them at this rate, returned his brass on the proprietors; and, with all the meanness of a trader exported them to France. It appeared indeed, in the end, that James was the only gainer by this iniquitous project; and that in the final course of circulation, his own party became possessed of the greatest part of this adulterate coin, just at the time when William had power to suppress it by proclamation. Yet certain it is, that during that melancholy interval in which the popish party was predominant, protestants felt all the distresses arising from a state of war and disorder, aggravated by the wanton insolence of their adversaries. If they attempted to purchase corn, or other provisions with the brass coin, these were instantly seized for the king's use, and the proprietors imprisoned, as men who intended to supply the enemy.

King.

Simon
on Irish
Coins.
Append.

"We

King's State, p. 139. 4to. "We were at a loss," saith archbishop King, "what the meaning of taking away corn from protestant farmers, house-keepers, and bakers should be, when there was no scarcity in the kingdom. —But Sir Robert Parker, and some others, blabbed it out in the coffee house, that they designed to starve one half of the protestants, and hang the other; and that it would never be well till this were done. We were sensible that they were in earnest by the event, for no protestant could get a bit of bread, and hardly a drop of drink in the whole city of Dublin. Twenty or thirty soldiers stood constantly about every bake-house, and would not suffer a protestant to come nigh them." Such representations are sometimes derided as the fictions of an enflamed party. But however improbable these instances of senseless tyranny may appear, they are confirmed by undoubted traditions received from the sufferers, and transmitted with every circumstance of credibility.

In the midst of public disorder, of all that opposition already made to James, and all the dangers which threatened him, he was still resigned to the popish clergy, and with an unmanly bigotry still adopted all their measures for the extension of popery. A school, erected at Kilkenny by the duke of Ormond, was converted into a popish seminary by a new charter. Repeated disappointments had not discouraged his priests from their attempts on the university of Dublin; nor was James deterred by the consequence of his invasions on the English universities. In a few months after his arrival in Ireland, a mandamus was presented to the governors of the university of Dublin, in favor of Green, who had been already disappointed of his imaginary professorship. He was now destined to another office, that of senior fellow of Trinity College. At a time when this society shared deeply in the general calamity, when no rents could be received, when their pension from the Exchequer was withheld, when their daily food was purchased by selling some part

Harris's
Life of
king Will.
Append.

Archives
of Trin.
Col. Dub.
MS.

part of their remaining plate; when the terrors of royal vengeance were thundered in their ears, and James and his forces at hand to execute their threats, the governors undauntedly refused obedience to the mandamus. They pleaded their own cause before Sir Richard Nagle; they urged the incapacity of Green, and the false allegations of his petition.

"But there are much more important reasons," said they, "drawn as well from the statutes relating to religion, as from the obligation of oaths we have taken, and the interest of our religion (which we will never desert) that render it wholly impossible for us, without violating our consciences, to have any concurrence, or to be any way concerned in the admission of him." The issue of this unequal contest was speedy and decisive.

In a few days fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected by the soldiers of a prince, who had promised not only to defend, but to augment their

Archives
of Trin.
Col. Dub.
MS.

privileges; the property of particular members, the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community were all seized; their chapel was converted to a magazine, their chambers into prisons. The members of the society obtained their personal liberty only by the intercession of the bishop of Meath; and this, on the express condition, that three of them should not meet together on pain of death. Petre is said to have possessed James with the design of conferring this college on the Jesuits. In the mean time, one Moor, a popish ecclesiastic, was nominated provost, a man of liberal sentiments, and a lover of letters; who with the assistance of Macarthy, another of his own order, preserved the library, books, and manuscripts, from the ravages of a barbarous army.

THE protestant clergy were by this time deprived, King's
for the most part, of their subsistence. They could State.
recover no dues from non-conformists; for these were, by the late act of liberty of conscience, exempted from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. They could demand no tythes from the
numerous

numerous body of Roman catholics; while popish incumbents, who every day multiplied by the death, cession, or absence of protestants, exacted them from all parties. Yet in the day of persecution, both clergy and laity felt an unusual fervour of devotion, and crowded to their places of worship. The popish government was offended, and possibly alarmed at these meetings. A proclamation was issued, confining protestants to their respective parishes, which, in effect, excluded great numbers from public worship, as, in several parts of Ireland, two parishes or more had but one church. But the popish clergy were for measures more direct and violent. By the assistance of magistrates, they seized churches for their own use, not in the country only, but the capital. The protestants remonstrated to James; he acknowledged his promise of protecting them, and published a proclamation against these outrages. But the clergy and their votaries disdained obedience to any orders repugnant to the interests of the faith. A contest now arose between the priests and their king; and in this contest James had the exquisite mortification of finding himself foiled and defeated. His order of restitution was sometimes evaded, by representing the church demanded for the protestants as a place of strength, and, therefore, improper to be entrusted to their custody. Christ Church in Dublin was seized, and could not be restored, because some arms were said to be concealed in it. When no such frivolous pretences could be urged, the priests and popish magistrates retained the churches with a contemptuous disregard of the repeated orders of a king, whose authority in ecclesiastical affairs they totally renounced. And whatever impotent resentment he expressed at this insolence, yet he still resigned himself servilely to the clergy; and seemed only solicitous to employ his momentary power for making Ireland what he called a catholic kingdom. An order was issued in the name of his governor of Dublin, that no more than five protestants should meet

meet together, even in churches, on pain of death. The alarm of an invasion indeed was pleaded for this severity; but vulgar bigotry was ever the predominant principle of James. At the very moment when the formidable powers of his enemies were gathering round him, he thought himself worthily employed in filling the diocese of Meath with popish incumbents, and erecting a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin.

AN administration at once so tyrannical and contemptible, owed its duration to the English factions, and those distresses and embarrassments which William bitterly experienced in his elevation. The tempest in the political system was allayed, but the agitation still continued. The new king was surrounded with secret and avowed enemies. The war with France was declared; and Louis was his mortal foe. Insurrection was already meditated in Scotland; England was a scene of various discontents. It was scarcely possible for William in his complicated dangers, his fears, his suspicions, his management of parties, to proceed in the service of Ireland with necessary vigor. The English forces could not be spared; and, perhaps, it was deemed hazardous to send them against the late king. New levies were ordered, and speedily completed; but the arms of the Tower had been embezzled; others were to be sought in Holland; nor was it found easy to raise money on parliamentary grants. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a subject of popular complaint. The vulgar might suggest reasons for it suited to their own sentiments, but they, who affected discernment, ascribed it to the counsels of lord Hallifax, who was said to have persuaded his new master, that the commotions of Ireland would force all parties to a full and final settlement of England. The sea-fight of Bantry-Bay, and the adventure of Lord Dundee, retarded the succours destined for Ireland; and, at the same time, encreased the popular discontents.

Harris's
Life of
King
William.
Append.

Impartial
History
of Occur-
rences in
Ireland,
4.c. p. 6.

Kennet.

THE levies for the service of this kingdom consisted of eighteen regiments of foot, and five of horse; the men, strangers to war; the officers, sons of English gentry, employed in order to ensure their attachment, and equally unexperienced with their soldiers. The chief command was assigned to duke Schomberg, (for William had conferred this title on his general, together with the Garter;) and to him count Solmes, another foreign officer, was second in command. Schomberg, who knew little of political expediency, or the intrigues of the cabinet, expressed his impatience of delay. He proposed to march the troops immediately to Port-Patrick in Scotland, whence they might be conveyed in a few hours to Ireland, without a tedious preparation of transports necessary for a longer voyage. His overture was coldly received. At length, on the sixteenth day of July, when the most affecting intelligence had arrived of the distresses so bravely supported by the garrison of Derry, he was introduced to the house of commons, returned thanks for their generous donation of one hundred thousand pounds, took a solemn leave and declared his resolution of exposing his life in Ireland for the service of the king and of their house. On the twentieth he arrived at Chester; a great part of his forces were still at a distance; transports, clothing-tents, provisions of every kind, were found insufficient; twenty-two days were wasted in endeavouring to supply all defects; the season of action was already too far spent; Schomberg could delay no longer. On the twelfth day of August he set sail, with about ten thousand of his forces, and part of the artillery. On the next day he appeared in the bay of Carricfergus, and landed near Bangor in the county of Down.

THE forces stationed by James in the neighbouring garrisons might have opposed his landing with great advantage; but no such attempt was made. Those of Belfast and Antrim retired at his first
appear-

appearance, some to Lisburne, most to Carricfergus, as the place of greatest strength. The laws of war forbid him to proceed until he had reduced this town: having sent detachments to take possession of the places abandoned by the enemy, he marched with a considerable force and laid siege to Carricfergus. This town was encompassed by a wall and fosse, and defended by bastions, but without any covered way. Its citadel, surrounded with high walls, and fortified by two round towers at the land entrance, served to defend the gate. The whole of it was irregular, conforming to the curve of the rock, which is a precipice over the sea near forty feet high, but to the land not exceeding twenty. The town and castle, if well defended, might have checked the progress of Schomberg. But on the first approach of the besiegers, the garrison parleyed. They demanded liberty to send to king James for succours, or for licence to surrender. The demand was scornfully rejected, and the siege carried on in form, while six ships battered the town from the sea. The garrison, in the next place, required to march out with the honors of war; Schomberg insisted on making them prisoners. But after the hostilities of some days, in order to prevent delay in a season so advanced, he allowed them to march with their arms and some baggage, and to be conducted to the next Irish garrison. His soldiers murmured at this indulgence; and such was the resentment of the Ulster Scots for the outrages they sustained from these men, and such their virulent enmity to popish troops, that without regard to faith, they fell furiously upon the garrison, wrested their arms from them, plundered the more helpless, and were restrained from murder only by the vigorous interposition of the general.

THE remainder of Schomberg's army had by this time arrived; but as the artillery horses were still detained at Chester, he ordered the train and other necessities to be conveyed by the fleet to Carricfergus, while his army advanced to Lisburne, to Hills.

Harris's
Life of
king Will.

Impartial
History,
&c.

Ibid.

Hamil-
ton's Ac-
tions of
the Ennis-
killeners.
Impartial
History,
&c.

Hillsborough, to Dromore, to Loughbrickland, through a desolated country. The protestants had abandoned it on the first commotions of the North, and now the popish inhabitants fled precipitately with all their cattle and effects, or were forced forward by the progress of the English army. In this march, the Enniskilleners, (who, together with Kirk's forces, had joined the duke at Carricfergus) formed the advance-guard, in all the pride of victory, when their successes had been completed, by gaining Sligo, from which the Irish garrison, commanded by Sarsefield, fled precipitately on a false alarm of danger. The English beheld these men, whose exploits had been so celebrated, with surprise and disappointment. Instead of a regular and well disciplined battalion, they found them a militia without any of the pomp, and scarcely furnished with the conveniences of war; their equipage mean and unseemly, and their horses of the low breed of their country. Yet with this disadvantageous appearance, they retained an undaunted spirit, and a contempt of the enemy. They beheld their reconnoitering parties with impatience, and lamented the scrupulous discipline of Schomberg, which prevented them from flying to the attack. While the general too cautiously restrained these men from their irregular war, and proceeded with a scrupulous conformity to military rules, the enemy gained time to burn down Newry in their retreat; and while the duke of Berwick was thus employed, one of his parties set flames to Carlingford. Schomberg, by a trumpet, threatened to give no quarter, should the enemy continue these barbarities; they abandoned Dundalk, without injuring the town: and hither the English army advanced, encamping at about the distance of a mile northward from the town, in low and moist ground, with the mountains of Newry to the east, the town and river to the south, and on the north, hills and bogs intermixed.

Such

SUCH were the exalted ideas which James's officers had formed of Schomberg and his army, that they entertained little hope of opposing him, and were said to deliberate whether it might be expedient not only to abandon their present station at Drogheda, but to retire from Dublin. Tyrconnel had the honor of diverting them from a resolution so inglorious. He hastened to the main army at Drogheda, consisting of about eight or ten thousand; he assured them of an immediate reinforcement, to the amount of twenty thousand more. These troops were instantly poured in from the southern province; it was therefore finally resolved to maintain their present station.

HITHERTO duke Schomberg had marched through a country full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not annoy him. The country before him was plain and open, where the superior numbers of the enemy could easily surround his army, and cut off all communication with their ships and their northern friends. The fleet, on which he depended for artillery and provisions, had not yet arrived at Carlingford. His men undisciplined and ignorant, had already experienced the hardships of their present service, wasted by a fatiguing march in rain and tempest, in cold and hunger, through a country dispiriting by its aspect, and by the inclemency of the season rendered still more dreary and distressing. Several had sunk under these severities; the sick lay languishing on the roads, and gave full employment to parties detached from every regiment in the army to collect and convey them to the camp. In such circumstances, Schomberg deemed it imprudent to advance. The enemy were elated with intelligence that "he halted." Mareschal Rosen at once pronounced, that "he must be in want of something;" and immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while the duke fortified his camp, so as to make it impossible for the enemy to force him to an action.

HIS

Impartial
History,
&c.

His soldiers in a confined and unwholesome station, in the midst of damps and winter showers, without sufficient food, fuel, or covering, attended by surgeons who had provided for the cure of wounds, but neglected the provisions necessary for diseases, soon grew languid and distempered. The sick were at first removed to Carlingford. But an unfriendly climate and inclement season soon weakened the whole army by fluxes; and a burning fever was caught from the garrison of Derry. While the attention of a vigilant and humane commander was fixed on the distresses of his soldiers, the enemy approached. One party was detached to seize the pass at Newry, so as to fall on the rear of the English; but, on the first appearance of opposition, retreated to Sligo. Another presented themselves before the camp, but at the sight of some cavalry retired to their main body. The whole army was then drawn out with James at their head, and displayed their royal standard. The duke observed them calmly, and when his officers were impatient to engage, "Let them alone," said he, "we shall see what they will do." They still advanced; Schomberg was still composed, insisting, that their appearance indicated no intention of fighting. They drew up in regular array, as if to storm the camp. The duke then dispatched orders to his cavalry to return, on an appointed signal, from foraging, and the foot were commanded to stand to their arms. These orders were received with joy; even the sick and languid seized their muskets in full confidence of victory, and only solicitous to be relieved from their present distress. But at the moment when an engagement seemed inevitable, James drew off his forces to Ardee. His army affected astonishment and vexation at this retreat; as if the storming duke Schomberg's camp were an enterprize of no danger, they imputed his apparent irresolution to a mistaken tenderness for his English subjects; and Rosen exclaimed, "Had your Majesty ten king-
"doms,

Histoire
d'Ireland
par Mages
in.

"downs, you would lose them." The English on the other hand suspected, that the enemy's motions had been intended only to countenance a conspiracy formed by some French papists to betray the camp. On the succeeding day the design was discovered; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of popish soldiers disarmed, and transported to Holland. Impartial
History,
&c.

WHILE Schomberg confined his other forces, and was assiduous in exercising and training his inexperienced troops, the Enniskilleners were allowed to make their usual excursions. About a thousand of these brave Northerns suddenly attacked a superior body of the enemy on their march to Sligo, slew their commander, routed the party, and gained a considerable booty. But the joy of this victory was soon allayed by the loss of James-town and Sligo, from which Sarsfield drove the garrisons. A French officer indeed, having possessed himself of a fort, and being supplied with provisions, bravely maintained his post, and at last capitulated upon honorable terms. Sarsfield attempted to seduce his men to the service of king James: one only accepted his gold, his horse, and furniture, and the next day rode off to the camp of Dundalk.

HERE the distresses of the army every day increased. The fleet indeed gradually arrived at their place of destination, and furnished some provisions; but the contagion had spread too widely, and raged too violently to be subdued. The English, unaccustomed to severities, confined to a low and moist station, drenched with perpetual showers, without the means of health, or the relief necessary in sickness, died daily in great numbers. Several of their most distinguished officers caught the infection, languished, and expired. The men accused their general of an intention to protract the war, and of indifference to their calamity. They imputed it to the coldness of his years, and even to dotage, that they were confined to a pestilential spot, instead of being led against an enemy they were confident

fidest of defeating. He ordered that they should build huts for shelter: in listless despondency they slighted his orders, and thus increased their own distress; indifferent to all expedients for relief, as they superstitiously conceived that they were fated to destruction. They recounted the calamities of former times, by which Dundalk was distinguished; they listened to narratives of tremendous meteors hovering over the very place on which they lay, of shrieks and groans heard in the air, the sure prognostics of calamity. Every day rendered them more and more habituated to spectacles of misery, till at length they were deprived of all remains of sensibility. Their companions died unnoticed; the survivors used their bodies for seats or shelter, and when these were carried to interment, murmured at being deprived of their conveniences.

Impartial
Hist.

THE enemy, who encamped on firmer and more elevated ground, insulted their miseries. They imputed it to the judgment of Heaven, that the heretical army (seated in a valley and surrounded with mountains) was overwhelmed with rains, while they themselves enjoyed an unclouded sky: yet, in the end, their calamities became equally grievous, and their numbers were equally diminished.

Ibid.
p. 31.

WHILE they prepared to retire to winter quarters, Schomberg was reinforced by some regiments from England and Scotland. To prevent these troops from catching the infection, and to preserve the remains of his army, he resolved to abandon his fatal station, and, for the present, pitched a new camp beyond the town. The men now clamoured at being drawn from their huts, which they had at length consented to build, and exposed in shattered tents to the severity of the season. The sick were ordered on board the ships; the ships could not contain their numbers. Waggon's were provided to convey them to Belfast; some died on their first attempt to remove: the officers were employed in attendance on the sick: the general, at the age of fourscore

Ibid.
p. 35.

fourscore years, afflicted with this scene of wretchedness, exposed to the violence of a dreary and tempestuous season, stood for hours at the bridge of Dundalk, commanding, encouraging, directing every means for alleviating the miseries of his men. Scarcely had they been disposed in the waggons, when at the first violent motion several expired, and the roads were strewed with their carcasses. An army thus wasted was suddenly alarmed with advice that the enemy was at hand. Even the faint and diseased caught at their arms, and still confident of victory, cried out, "the papists shall now pay for our being detained so long in such dismal quarters." Happily the alarm proved false. It was now time for Schomberg to dispose of that part of his army which remained in the northern towns. Hither he retired without any interruption from the enemy, (except one futile and ill-conducted attempt to seize the pass at Newry) and hither his soldiers conveyed the infection of their camp.

THE people of England had possessed their minds with the most brilliant expectations from duke Schomberg's army. His distresses had been concealed from them; they were assured that his camp was in a flourishing condition, supplied abundantly with every necessary. But instead of reducing Ireland, they found him entrenching himself against an enemy they were long habituated to despise, and confining his operations to the protection of the northern province. Their pride was exasperated at the disappointment; the factious were delighted at this new occasion of loading the king's ministers with odium. From the first rise of the war in Ireland, the English commons affected to discover an attention to this kingdom, possibly with the greater zeal, as it was apparently neglected by the king. They studied means for relieving those protestants who fled from Ireland. Their artificers were allowed to trade in English corporations; their clergy to hold benefices in England consistently with their Irish preferments, until these should be recovered;

London
Gazette.

Commons
Journals,
April 9.
1689.

June 25.

Impartial
History,
&c.

THE first report of this design was a considerable encouragement to the English army in Ulster. Duke Schomberg had retired to winter quarters with about half those numbers he had brought to Ireland; and, although the distempers of his army were not immediately subdued, yet care and conveniences, wholesome food, and warm quarters, soon restored them to an unusual degree of vigor. Several regiments were broken one into another, and officers sent to England for recruits. The Enniskilleners made some excursions with their usual alertness; nor were the Irish regiments stationed at Ardee entirely inactive. Early in the month of February, Schomberg received intelligence that the enemy were collecting about Dundalk, in order to disturb his frontier garrisons. Some troops were detached to watch their motions; but it soon appeared that their design lay another way. The Enniskilleners had surprised their garrison at Belturbet, and fortified the place: their present purpose was to recover it. The gallant Northerns, under their victorious leader Wolsey, marched from the town, hoping to surprise them in Cavan. But hither the duke of Berwick had already arrived with a considerable reinforcement; and the Northerns, to the number of one thousand, were encountered by four thousand Irish. The sudden violent impression of a spirited enemy had a greater effect in this petty action, than perhaps is usually experienced in more extensive engagements. The Irish at the first onset fled from those who had been accustomed to victory. The northern forces burst into the town, and were plundering it, when those of the enemy who had fled to the fort sallied out to renew the engagement. Wolsey could recall his men from their present disorder, only by setting fire to a town stored with all manner of provisions. Thus forced from their prey, they completed their victory, with considerable slaughter.

Ibid.

THE spirits of the English army were elevated by such petty successes. Clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions

provisions arrived from England; and to animate them still farther, seven thousand well-appointed troops of Denmark landed at Belfast, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg. Schomberg was now employed in furnishing his frontier garrisons with stores; nor was James less assiduous in forming his magazines and preparing for the campaign. If he really expressed a resolution of trusting to his own subjects for success, he had by this time forgotten such heroic sentiments. He now accepted five thousand French troops, under the conduct of count Lauzun; and in their place an equal number of Irish was transported to France. However such an exchange might have been warranted by theory or authority, James had the mortification to find his new auxiliaries refractory and disobedient. They knew and acknowledged no superior but Lauzun; and this general attended, not to the interest of the king, but that of his troops: he considered himself as in an enemy's country, and lived at free quarter.

A TRIVIAL incident served to encrease the mortification of this unhappy prince. The only frigate, A. D. 1690. he yet retained of that royal fleet which once obeyed him, lay in the bay of Dublin ready to convoy some small vessels to France laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his brass coin on the proprietors. Some firing was heard from sea; James flattered himself that it was occasioned by some of his subjects of England returning to their allegiance. The strand was quickly crowded; James himself rode towards the shore at the head of his guards, and thus became spectator of the gallantry of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who had sailed with a few ships from Belfast, and now, after some resistance, took the frigate with the whole convoy. *Impartial History, &c.*

BUT what afflicted James still more sensibly was the loss of Charlemont. This fort was esteemed so strong and so well provided, that Schomberg in his progress did not venture to attack it. In spring, when

when his forces were capable of action, Caillemote, a brave French officer, was posted on the Blackwater, and harassed and straitened the garrison: as the season advanced, the castle was more closely invested, and the governor summoned to surrender. This governor, O'Regan, a brave Irish officer, but of rude and vulgar manners, deigned no other reply, but that "The old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle." A detachment of five hundred men sent to its relief, with a small quantity of ammunition and provisions, was suffered to march in after a slight resistance. They soon found that their additional numbers only served to hasten on that famine with which the garrison was threatened, and, therefore, attempted to return, but were repeatedly driven back with slaughter. O'Regan, incensed at their ill-success, swore that if they would not force their way, they were to expect no entertainment within, and obliged them to lodge on the counterscarp and dry ditch within the palisadoes. The distresses of the garrison, and the detachment thus excluded, soon became intolerable, and the governor, of consequence, less arrogant. He proposed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honors of war.

Impartial
History,
&c.

In the mean time, several new regiments, English, Dutch, and Brandenburgish, arrived in the northern province; and the army was every day encouraged with assurance that William was speedily to land. The hopes of pay, the expectations of preferment, the desire of having their sovereign a witness of their meritorious conduct, possessed both officers and soldiers. They impatiently expected the king; and, on the fourteenth day of June, received him at Carricfergus in a transport of joy. He came, attended by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, and other persons of distinction; was met by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, Kirk, and other officers; received

received an address from the northern clergy, presented by Walker, and published his proclamations for the suppression of rapine, violence, and injustice. His military genius prompted him, and the present distracted state of England, together with the formidable preparations of France, obliged him to a vigorous prosecution of the war. From Belfast he advanced to Lisburne and Hillsborough. Here he commenced the exercise of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the inhabitants of the northern province. The teachers of dissenting congregations, which abounded in this province, had acted with zeal against the cause of popery and the late king. One of this order had the merit of first encouraging the populace to shut the gates of Derry; several had patiently endured the hardships of the siege; and in every part of Ulster these ministers had shared deeply in the distresses of war. William now issued his warrant, granting them an annual pension of twelve hundred pounds, to be paid by the collector of customs in the port of Belfast; a pension afterwards inserted in the civil list, and made payable from the exchequer. His forces were ordered to take the field; and when some cautious counsels were suggested by his officers, he rejected them with indignation. "I came not to Ireland," said he, "to let grass grow under my feet." At Loughbrickland, his whole army assembled from their different quarters, and were joined by the king and his train. William ordered them to change their encampment, that he might review the regiments on their march to the new ground. The officers imagined, that on a tempestuous and dusty day, he would content himself with a general view from some convenient station; but they saw him dart quickly into the throng, riding eagerly from place to place, examining every regiment and every troop distinctly and critically. His soldiers were thus pleased and animated, every man considering himself as under the immediate inspection of his royal leader, who took his quarters in

the

Harris's
Life of
K. Wil.
Walker's
Diary.

Impartial
History,
&c.

the camp, was the whole day on horseback, at the head of an advanced party, viewing the adjacent country, reconnoitering, or directing the accommodations necessary for his soldiers. When an order was presented to him to be signed for wine for his own table, he passionately exclaimed, that his men should be first provided; "Let them not want," said he, "I shall drink water." An army of thirty-six thousand men, thus animated, and excellently appointed, advanced southward to decide the fate of Ireland, while the fleet coasted slowly in view, to supply them with every necessary, and thus to increase their confidence.

Impartial
History.

Six days had elapsed from the time of William's landing, when James received the first intelligence that a prince, who, he confidently believed, must be detained in England by faction and discontent, was already on his march to meet him. He committed the guard of Dublin to a militia, under the command of Lutterel, the governor, and marched with six thousand French infantry, to join the main body of his army, which at the approach of the enemy had retired from Dundalk and Ardee, and now lay near Drogheda, on the banks of the river Boyne. His numbers were about thirty-three thousand. His council of officers reminded him, that the naval armament of France was completed, and the fleet perhaps already on the English coast; that Louis had promised, as soon as the squadron attending on William should return, he would send a fleet of frigates into the Irish seas to destroy his transports: that he would be thus fatally detained in Ireland, while Britain was threatened by foreign invasion, and the domestic enemies of the reigning prince concerting an insurrection. In such circumstances they advised him to wait the event of those designs formed in his favor, not to hazard an engagement against superior numbers, to strengthen his garrisons, to march to the Shannon with his cavalry and a small body of foot, and thus to maintain

tain a defensive war against an enemy, which, in a strange and unfriendly climate, without provisions or succours, must gradually perish by disease and famine. James on the contrary contended, that to abandon the capital were to confess himself subdued; that his reputation must be irreparably ruined; that the Irish, who judged by appearances, would desert; and what was of still more moment, his friends in England and Scotland must be dispirited, and deterred from their attempts to restore him. He expressed satisfaction, that he had at last the opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. He insisted on maintaining his present post; and, from such animated language, his officers concluded that he meant to take a desperate part in the engagement: yet, with an ominous precaution, he dispatched Sir Patrick Trant, one of his commissioners of revenue, to Waterford, to prepare a ship for conveying him to France in case of any misfortune.

WILLIAM WAS no stranger to the motions of the ^{Impartial} French, and the machinations of his enemies. ^{History,} Whatever was the proper conduct for James, it was ^{&c.} evidently his interest to bring their contest to an immediate decision. On the last day of June, at the first dawn of morning, his army moved towards the river in three columns. He marched at the head of his advanced guard, which by nine o'clock appeared within two miles of Drogheda. William, observing a hill west of the town, rode to the summit with his principal officers, to take a view of the enemy. On their right was Drogheda, filled with Irish soldiers. Eastward of the town on the farther banks of the river, their camp extended in two lines, with a morass on the left, difficult to be passed. In their front were the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by some breast-works, with huts and hedges, convenient to be lined with infantry. On their rear, at some distance, lay the church and village of Donore; three miles farther was the pass of Duleek,

on which they depended for a retreat. The view of their encampment was intercepted by some hills to the south-west; so that Sgraveumore, one of William's generals, who counted but forty-six regiments, spoke with contempt of the enemy's numbers. The king observed, that more might lye concealed behind these hills, and many be stationed in the town; "But it is my purpose," said he, "to be speedily acquainted with their whole strength."

Impartial
History,
&c.

His army was now marching into camp; when William, anxious to gain a nearer and more distinct view of the enemy, advanced, with some officers, within musket-shot of a ford opposite to a village called Old-bridge; here he conferred for some time on the methods of passing, and planting his batteries; when, riding on still westward, he alighted and sat down to refresh himself on a rising ground. Neither the motions of William nor of his army were unnoticed. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsefield, and some other generals, rode slowly on the opposite banks viewing the army in their march, and soon discovered the present situation of the king. A party of about forty horse immediately appeared in a plowed field opposite to the place on which he sat. In their centre they carefully concealed two field-pieces, which they planted unnoticed under cover of a hedge, and retired. William mounted his horse; at that moment the first discharge killed a man and two horses on a line, (at some distance) with the king: another ball instantly succeeded, grazed on the banks of the river, rose, and slanted on his right shoulder, tearing his coat and flesh. His attendants crowded round him, and appeared in confusion. An universal shout of joy rung through the Irish camp, at the news that Orange was no more. It was conveyed rapidly to Dublin; it was waisted to Paris; Louis received it with ecstasy; and the guns of the Bastile proclaimed the meanness of his triumph.

WHILE

WHILE some squadrons of the enemy's horse drew down to the river, as if to pursue a flying enemy, William rode through his camp, to prevent all alarms or false reports of his danger. On the arrival of his artillery, the batteries were mounted, and the cannonading continued on each side, not without some execution, till the close of evening. Some deserters were received, and gave various accounts of the strength and disposition of the enemy. One, who appeared of some note, spoke so plausibly and, at the same time, so magnificently of their numbers, that William seemed disconcerted. To Sir Robert Southwell, his secretary of state, who had given him different intelligence, he expressed his suspicion that the enemy was really stronger than he imagined. Southwell communicated the king's doubts to Cox, his under-secretary, through whose channel the intelligence had been conveyed. Cox, with an acuteness which seems to have laid the foundation of his future fortune, led the deserter through the English camp: and when he had surveyed it, asked to what he computed the amount of William's forces. The man confidently rated them at more than double their number. The king was thus satisfied that his reports arose from ignorance and presumption. Other deserters made reports more unfavourable to the enemy; and the king was assured, that James, in expectation of a defeat, had already conveyed part of his baggage and artillery to Dublin.

ABOUT nine at night, William called a council of war, not to deliberate, but to receive his orders; and here he declared his resolution of passing the river in front of the enemy. Duke Schomborg, with the caution natural to his years, endeavoured to dissuade him from this hazardous enterprize; and, when he could not prevail, insisted, that part of the army should be immediately detached to secure the bridge of Slane, about three miles westward of their camp, so as to flank the enemy, and to cut them off from Duleek, the pass through which they

Impartial
History,
&c.

Harris's
Life of
king Will.

Impartial
History,
&c.

they might retreat. It is generally imputed to the indifference with which his counsel was received, that this general retired in disgust, and received the order of battle in his tent, declaring that, "it was the first ever sent to him." Nor did James discover more attention to this important pass of Slane. In his council of war, Hamilton recommended that eight regiments might be sent immediately to secure the bridge. James proposed to employ fifty dragoons in this service; the general, in astonishment, bowed, and was silent.

Impartial
History,
&c.

WILLIAM directed that the river should be passed in three different places; by his right wing commanded by count Schomberg, son of the duke, and general Douglas on the west, at some fords discovered near the bridge of Slane; by the centre commanded by duke Schomberg, in front of the Irish camp; and by the left wing led by the king himself, at a ford between the army and the town of Drogheda. At midnight William once more rode through his camp with torches, inspected every post, and issued his final orders.

Ibid.

EARLY on the succeeding morning, count Schomberg with the cavalry, and Douglas with the infantry, which composed the right wing, marched towards Slane with greater alacrity than the troops sent from the other side to oppose them. They crossed the river without any opposition except from a regiment of dragoons stationed over night at the ford, of which they killed seventy, before their retreat could be secured. They advanced and found their antagonists drawn up in two lines. They formed, mixing their horse and foot, squadron with battalion, till on the arrival of more infantry they changed their position, drawing the horse to the right, by which they considerably out-flanked the enemy. But they were to force their way through fields enclosed by deep ditches difficult to be surmounted, especially by the horse; who, in the face of an enemy, were obliged to advance in order: beyond these
lay

lay the morass still more embarrassing. The infantry were ordered to plunge in, and, while the horse found a firm passage to the right, forced their way with fatigue and difficulty. The enemy astonished at their intrepidity, fled instantly towards Duleek, and were pursued with slaughter.

By the time when it was supposed that the right wing had made good their passage, the infantry in the centre was set in motion. The Dutch guards first entered the river, on the right, opposite to Old-bridge. The French protestants and Enniskilleners, Brandenburgers and English, at their several passes to the left, plunged in with alacrity, checking the current, and swelling the water, so that it rose in some places to their middle, in others to their breasts, and obliged the infantry to support their arms above their heads. The Dutch had marched unmolested to the middle of the river, when a violent discharge was made from the houses, breast-works, and hedges, but without execution; they moved on, gained the opposite banks, formed gradually, and drove the Irish from their posts. As they still advanced, the squadrons and battalions of the enemy suddenly appeared in view behind the eminences which had concealed them. Five of these battalions bore down upon those Dutch who had already passed, but were received firmly, and repulsed. The effort of the Irish horse were equally unsuccessful. Two attacks were bravely repelled, when the French and Enniskilleners arrived to the support of the Dutch, and drove back a third body of horse with considerable execution.

In the mean time, general Hamilton led the Irish infantry to the very margin of the river to oppose the passage of the French and English. But his men, although stationed in the post of honor at the requisition of their officers, shrunk from the danger. Their cavalry proved more spirited. A squadron of Danes was attacked with such fury and success, that they fled back through the river. The Irish horse pursued, and, on their return, fell furiously

riously on the French huguenots, who had no pikes to sustain their shock, and were instantly broken. Caillémote, their brave commander, received his mortal wound, and when borne to the English camp, with his last breath animated his countrymen who were passing the river. As he lay bleeding in the arms of four soldiers, he collected strength to exclaim repeatedly in his own language, "A la gloire, mes enfans! a la gloire!" "To glory, my boys! to glory!" The rapidity of the Irish horse, the flight of the Danes, and the disorder of the French, spread a general alarm, and the want of cavalry struck the minds even of the peasants, who were but spectators of the battle, so forcibly, that a general cry of "Horse! horse!" was suddenly raised, was mistaken for an order to "Halt," surprised and confounded the centre, was conveyed to the right wing, and for a while retarded their pursuit. In this moment of disorder, duke Schomberg, who had waited to support his friends on any dangerous emergency, rushed through the river, and placing himself at the head of the huguenot forces, who were now deprived of their leader, pointed to some French regiments in their front, and cried, "Allons, messieurs; voila vos persecuteurs." "Come on, Gentlemen, there are your persecutors." These were his last words. The Irish horse, who had broken the French protestants, wheeled through Old-Bridge, in order to join their main body; but were here cut down by the Dutch and Enniskilleners. About sixteen of their squadron escaped, and returning furiously from the slaughter of their companions, were mistaken by the huguenots for some of their own friends, and suffered to pass. They wounded Schomberg in the head, and were hurrying him forward, when his own men fired and slew him. About the same time, Walker of London-Derry, whose passion for military glory had hurried him unnecessarily into this engagement, received a wound in his belly, and instantly expired.

AFTER

AFTER an uninterrupted firing of an hour, the disorder on both sides occasioned some respite. The centre of the English army began to recover from their confusion. The Irish retreated towards Donore, where James stood during the engagement, surrounded by his guards; and here, drawing up in good order, once more advanced. William had now crossed the river at the head of Dutch, Danish, and English cavalry, through a dangerous and difficult pass, where his horse, floundering in the mud, obliged him to dismount, and accept the assistance of his attendants. And now, when the enemy had advanced almost within musket shot of his infantry, he was seen with his sword drawn, animating his squadrons, and preparing to fall on their flank. They halted, and again retreated to Donore. But here, facing about vigorously, they charged with such success, that the English cavalry, though led on by their king, was forced from their ground. William, with a recollection of thought which accompanies true courage, rode up to the Enniskilleners, and asked "What they would do for him?" Their officer informed them who he was; they advanced with him, and received the enemy's fire. But, as he wheeled to the left, they followed by mistake; yet, while William led up some Dutch troops, they perceived their error, and returned bravely to the charge. The battle was now maintained on each side with equal ardour, and with variety of fortune. The king, who mingled in the hottest part of the engagement, was constantly exposed to danger. One of his own troopers, mistaking him for an enemy, presented a pistol to his head: William calmly put it by. "What," said he, "do not you know your friends?" The presence of such a prince gave double vigor to his soldiers. The Irish infantry were finally repulsed, Hamilton made one desperate effort to turn the fortune of the day, at the head of his horse. Their shock was furious, but neither orderly nor steady. They were routed, and their general conveyed a prisoner

prisoner to William. The king asked him whether the Irish would fight more. "Upon my honor," said Hamilton, "I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse." William surveyed the man who had betrayed him in his transactions with Tyrconnel, and in a sullen and contemptuous tone exclaimed, "Honor! your honor!"

NOR was this asseveration of Hamilton well-grounded. The right wing of William's army had by this time forced their way through difficult grounds, and pursued the enemy close to Duleek. Lauzun rode up to James, who still continued at Donore, advising him to retreat immediately, as he was in danger of being surrounded. He marched to Duleek at the head of Sarsefield's regiment; his army followed, and poured through the pass, not without some annoyance from a party of English dragoons, which they might easily have cut to pieces, had they not been solely intent on flying. When they reached the open ground, they drew up, and cannonaded their pursuers. Their officers ordered all things for a retreat, which they made in such order, as was commended by their enemies. Their loss in this engagement was computed at fifteen hundred; that of William's army scarcely amounted to one-third of this number*:

HERE

* Burnet assures us, that all Tyrconnel's papers were taken in the camp, and those of James afterwards found in Dublin; from which the king learned the design of the French to burn his transports. "Among the earl of Tyrconnel's papers," saith the right reverend historian, "there was one letter writ to queen Mary, at St. Germain's, the night before the battle, but it was not sent. In it, he said, he looked on all as lost; and ended it thus, *I have now no hope in any thing but in Jones's business.*" This he explains, by telling us, from the information of lord Carmarthen, that this Jones was employed to assassinate king William. He says, that Sir Robert Southwell inspected all the papers and letters of Tyrconnel, and gave him copies of two. In one he writes, that Jones is come; that his proposition was likelier to succeed than any yet made; but that his demands were high, *if any thing can be high for such a service.* In another he writes, that Jones had been with the king, *who did not like the thing at first; but, he adds, we have now so satisfied him in conscience* and

HERE was a final period of James's Irish royalty. He arrived at Dublin in great disorder; and damped the joy of his friends, who, at the intelligence of William's death, every moment expected to receive him in triumph. He assembled the popish magistrates and council of the city; he told them, that in England his army had deserted him; in Ireland, they had fled in the hour of danger, nor could be persuaded to rally, though their loss was inconsiderable; both he and they must therefore shift for themselves. It had been deliberated, whether, in case of such a misfortune, Dublin should not be set on fire; but on their allegiance he charged them to commit no such barbarous outrage, which must reflect dishonor on him, and irritate the conqueror. He was obliged, he said, to yield to force, but would never cease to labour for their deliverance; too much blood had been already shed; and Providence seemed to declare against him; he, therefore, advised them to set their prisoners at liberty, and submit to the prince of Orange, who was merciful. The reflection on the courage of his Irish troops was ungracious, and provoked their officers to retort it on the king. They contended, that

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and honour, that every thing is done that Jones desires. Sir Robert Southwell, it seems, informed Burnet also, that Nagle furnished this Jones with money, and a poignard of a particular composition, together with a Bible bound without a Common Prayer, that, if seized, he might pass for a dissenter.

THE authority of Sir Robert Southwell, who attended William as secretary of state, is indeed very considerable: else we might possibly be tempted to rank the poignard of a particular composition, with those silver bullets of which we read in the reign of Charles the Second. And still the whole narrative would appear less dubitable, if the bishop had explained how papers of such consequence were suffered to remain in James's camp, when he had already sent the baggage to Dublin, in expectation of a defeat; and how letters of any consequence should, after an interval of several days, be seized in Dublin, when James, or his ministers at least, were left at full leisure to destroy or to remove them.

that in the whole of the engagement, their men, though not animated by a princely leader, had taken no inglorious part. They observed, that while William shared the danger of his army, encouraging them by his presence, by his voice, by his example, James stood at secure distance a quiet spectator of the contest for his crown and dignity. "Exchange kings," said they, "and we will once more fight the battle." Their indignation was increased, when they saw the prince, who inveighed again Irish cowardice, fly precipitately to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit, and instantly embark for France. They, who did not impute this conduct to a defect of spirit, at least complained, that his Irish adherents were shamefully sacrificed to his interests and designs in England. Nor did the officers of William express entire satisfaction at his conduct. They complained, that the enemy were not pursued with sufficient vigor, without weighing the disadvantage sustained by the loss of duke Schomberg, or the danger of pursuit through a difficult pass and an unknown country. They contended, that at the very moment of victory, ten thousand men should have been detached to Athlone and Limerick, to seize these important places, and prevent the Irish from re-assembling. But they were strangers to those anxieties which oppressed the king's mind. He every moment looked for an invasion in England, and, expecting to be recalled, deemed it imprudent to divide his army, or to remove to any distance from the coast. Drogheda was summoned; the Irish governor hesitated, but being assured, that if the cannon were brought up, no quarter was to be expected, he surrendered on condition that the garrison should be conveyed, unarmed, to Athlone; and William now advanced slowly towards the capital.

CHAR.

C H A P. VII.

Dublin in confusion.... Conduct of Fitzgerald.... King William encamps at Finglass.... Address of the protestant clergy.... The king's declaration, and commission of forfeitures.... Irish prepare to renew the war.... Waterford and Duncannon reduced by William.... His anxieties.. He returns to Chapel-Isod, and resolves to embark.... He is diverted from his purpose, and joins the army.... General Douglas marches against Athlone.... His progress,.... his ill success,.... his retreat.... William besieges Limerick.... Vigorous defence of the garrison.... English artillery surprised by Sarsfield.... Siege still continued.... A breach,.... a storm.... English repulsed.... William raises the siege,.... and embarks for England.... Enterprise of the earl of Marlborough.... Cork reduced.... Fort of Kinsale surrendered.... English forces retire to winter quarters.... General disorder and distress.... Rapparees.... Civil administration at Dublin.. Attempt on the English frontier.... Action at the Moat of Grenage.... Arrival of Saint Ruth.... Ballymore reduced.... March to Athlone.... The English town forced.... Efforts to gain the Irish town.... Resolution of the besieged.... Preparations for passing the river,.... suspended,.... resumed.... The passage.... Athlone taken.... Proclamation of Pardon.... Saint Ruth retires to Aughrim.... The situation of his army.... English march to the attack.... The battle obstinately maintained.... Death of Saint Ruth.... Final defeat of the Irish.... Galway besieged, and surrendered on honorable conditions.... Situation of the Irish in Limerick.... Preparations for the siege,.... Cautious procedure of Ginckle.... Successful attempt to pass the Shannon.... New declaration published by the general.... Second passage of the river.... Attack at Thomond-bridge.... The garrison discontented.... A parley.... English prisoners released.... Their

Their distresses. . . . Terms of capitulation proposed by the garrison. . . . rejected by Ginckle. . . . Treaty renewed. . . . Articles of capitulation settled and signed. . . . War of Ireland finally concluded.

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Harris's
Life of
K. Will.
p. 271.

IT doth not appear that James, on retiring, gave any orders to his officers, or any instructions for continuing the war. But although he had renounced the assistance of the Irish, yet the interests of their religion were involved in his cause; nor had they any hopes of recovering the lands of their ancestors, or securing those they still retained, but by contending against the new government. Most of his army marched through Dublin, bending their course to Limerick and Athlone, with indignation at their king, affecting to rejoice at his flight, which relieved them from the embarrassment of a leader who had no spirit for enterprize, no sincere concern for their interests. The metropolis was now threatened with all the evils of anarchy. The civil officers of James had already fled, or were preparing for flight; no detachment had been sent by William to secure the city. The protestant prisoners were set free, with violent animosity against their persecutors, breathing revenge, and ready for every outrage. They assembled in small parties, they held their consultations, and were on the point of forcing and rifling the houses of papists, when Fitzgerald, a military officer of the family of Kildare, who had been delivered from his confinement, suddenly appeared among the populace, and dissuaded them from their purpose. His character and family commanded their obedience; and, with the assistance of some gentry and clergy, he assumed the government of the city, gained the keys of the castle, persuaded the main-guard, composed of about thirty popish militia, to lay down their arms, put them in the hands of protestants, and sent expresses to king William's camp to request immediate assistance.

In this interval of danger and terror, Fitzgerald was every moment alarmed. It was whispered that one thousand of the enemy were returned. The suburbs were already set on fire, he flew to extinguish the flames, and the incendiaries vanished. In the mean time, the populace, still impatient for plunder, broke into the house of Sarsefield: he rushed among them, and by persuasion, by menaces, by violence, restrained their outrages. Still they clamoured that the enemy were returning; he sent new expresses to the king, and at length received nine troops of horse, under the command of Auswerquerque and Sgrayenmore, attended by the duke of Ormond, (a person more acceptable to the citizens) and these again were reinforced by the Dutch guards. William, in the mean time, continued to advance slowly, and encamped at Finglass, a village within two miles of the capital. Hence he entered the city, and repaired to the cathedral church of Saint Patrick, to return thanks for his victory; but, still attentive to the discipline and duties of a general, returned immediately to his camp. Here the protestant clergy attended him with an address, congratulating his arrival, praying for his success, expressing their loyalty, and entreating him not to think unfavourably of them for continuing in Ireland, and submitting to a power which they could not resist, and by which they had been enabled to serve both the church and his majesty. He answered in the usual manner, that he came to free them from popish tyranny, and doubted not, by the divine assistance, to complete his design; permitting them to appoint a day of solemn thanksgiving, and to compose an occasional form of prayer.

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WILLIAM now published a declaration calculated, ^{Ibid.} to detach the lower orders of subjects from their leaders. He promised pardon and protection to labourers, common soldires, farmers, plowmen, and pottiers, to townsmen and artificers, who remained at home, or should return to their dwellings and surrender

surrender their arms. He commanded all tenants of protestant subjects to pay their rents to their respective landlords, and that the tenants of those who were concerned in rebellion should detain their rents, until the commissioners of his revenue should signify to whom they were to be paid. As to the desperate leaders of the rebellion, he declared his resolution of leaving them to the event of war. A pardon so confined, and which indeed expressly warned the gentry who adhered to James, that they had no part to take but that of obstinately continuing the war, is imputed to the influence of those English who were impatient for forfeitures. They were gratified by a commission issued for seizing and securing all forfeitures accruing to the crown by the rebellion of the Irish, although no courts of judicature were now opened for proceeding regularly and legally. The commissioners seized without mercy; they harassed the country, yet made but inconsiderable returns into the exchequer. They pleaded the defects of their commission, and that, as they were not sufficiently empowered to dispose of their seizures, these were frequently retaken by force. Thus the impatience of William's English adherents only served to confirm the Irish in their aversion to the new government; and by a shameful disregard, and almost perpetual violation of his protections granted to the peasantry, they forced this order also to crowd to their old leaders, and to take arms for their security.

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Thus the Irish prepared to renew the war, possessed with every passion and every principle which renders an enemy dangerous and desperate. They were exasperated at the aspersions cast by James upon their national character, and impatient to redeem it. They saw their religion on the point of being utterly extinguished, and their remains of property ready to be seized by strangers; no security in submission, no reliance on any promises of pardon. Their leaders found leisure to collect and enflame

enflame their party by the undecided conduct of king William. The joy of his late success was instantly allayed by intelligence of the bloody victory gained by Luxemburg, in Flanders, over prince Waldeck and his confederate army; his mind was still impressed with alarm and anxiety from the motions of the French navy; eight days had passed since his victory at the Boyne, when he at length resolved to divide his army; and while he marched southward, Douglas one of his generals, was detached with ten regiments of foot- and five of cavalry, to reduce Athlone. Scarcely had William advanced thirty miles from the capital, when he received the afflicting intelligence of Tourville's success over the united fleets of England and Holland. He was now doubly solicitous to gain a secure station for his transports; and, for this purpose, to reduce Waterford and Duncannon. He hastened his march; Wexford had already declared for him, and now received his garrison; Clonmel was abandoned by the Irish; Waterford was summoned; the garrison, after some hesitation, demanded the enjoyment of their estates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. This last article only was admitted; they accepted it, and surrendered. The fort of Duncannon threatened a more obstinate resistance: the governor demanded time to consult Tyrconnel; and, when refused, boldly declared, that he would take it; but on the approach of the army, and the appearance of Sir Cloudesly Shovel with sixteen frigates, he accepted the same conditions with Waterford.

HAVING thus obtained the immediate object of his enterprise, William, again alarmed by the second appearance of the French navy on the coast of England, deemed his presence necessary in this kingdom, where dejection and discontent operated violently on the minds of all his subjects. The charge of completing the reduction of Ireland was committed to his generals; the necessary orders issued for his departure;

departure; and from the camp he returned to Chapel-Izod, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Here, while employed in receiving petitions, and redressing the grievances arising from perpetual violations of his protection, he receiving new dispatches, informing him, that the French fleet had retired; that all their boasted enterprises amounted to nothing more than the destruction of some fishing boats, and the inconsiderable village of Tinmouth, in the west; that the terrors of his friends were dissipated, and the secret machinations of his enemies discovered and defeated. Such pleasing intelligence diverted him from his purpose; he now resolved to prosecute the Irish war, and returned to his camp.

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In the mean time, Douglas proceeded in his expedition to Athlone. He marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering, and even murdering with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, or the formal orders of their general. As he advanced, the Irish peasantry appeared successively in considerable bodies to claim the benefit of king William's declaration; and were successively ensnared by assurance of protection, and exposed to all the violences of the soldiers. An army, abhorred and execrated, at length appeared before Athlone. To the summons sent by Douglas, the governor, Grace, a brave old officer, returned a passionate defiance; "These are my terms," said he, "firing a pistol at the messenger." His garrison consisted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse, with a larger body encamped at a small distance to support them, all violently exasperated against the besiegers, and encouraged by false rumors of the death of William, of insurrections and of invasions in England. That part of Athlone, which lay on the eastern side of the Shannon, and was called the English town, Grace deemed indefensible; he had, therefore, set fire to it, and broken the fair stone bridge built by Sir Henry

Henry Sidney in the reign of Elizabeth, resolving to maintain the Irish district on the west. About two hundred yards above it, he raised some breast-works, cast up redoubts, and other works near the end of the bridge, and mounted two batteries, besides those of the castle, which stood on an eminence and commanded the river.

DOUGLAS thus found the enemy stronger and better disposed than he expected. His works were carried on with sufficient vigor; and he commenced his operations by playing on the castle from a battery of six guns, but without any considerable effect. He found his train utterly insufficient for the enterprize he had undertaken; he lost his best gunner by a shot from the town; in a few days his men grew faint and sickly from scanty provisions, his horses weak from want of forage: it was rumoured that Sarsfield had actually marched with fifteen thousand men to raise the siege, and to cut off the retreat of the English forces. The spirits of the garrison were on fire, and their efforts redoubled, while Douglas formed the inglorious resolution of retiring. He decamped at midnight, unmolested; and, in his terror of the enemy, marched by devious and painful routes to join the royal army. The protestant inhabitants of the county of Athlone, who had enjoyed the benefit of Irish protections, were thus exposed to the utmost severities. On the approach of the besiegers they declared in favor of the English; and were, therefore, forced to attend them in their retreat; they abandoned their habitations and their harvests, and the miserable pittance of provisions which they carried with them became the prey of a necessitous and merciless army.

DOUGLAS found the king advancing to Lime-
rick, the great seat of the Irish force, anxious for
intelligence of the numbers and the situation of the
enemy. He was assured that count Lauzun, with
other Frenchmen of distinction, had already

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of Clarke,
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done the town, and prepared to return home; that all the forces of their nation yet in Limerick, amounting to three thousand, had declared their resolution of capitulating separately, and retiring from the kingdom, but were diverted from this purpose by the clamour and importunities of the Irish; that Boileau, one of their generals, had undertaken the command of Limerick, and occupied it with his troops, while the Irish forces lay encamped on the Connaught side, ready to supply him with men and provisions, and had already secured the adjacent passes of the Shannon. Limerick, like Athlone, consisted of two distinct towns, the English and Irish; the former almost surrounded by the river, and united to the other by a bridge. It was fortified by strong walls, bastions, and ramparts, and defended by a castle and citadel. It was deemed hazardous to attempt it only on one side. But William possibly from an expectation that the French would still retreat, and the Irish of consequence surrender, resolved on the attempt, though the season was advanced, and his army reduced to twenty thousand. At present he had but a field train; however, his artillery, consisting of six twenty-four pounders, and two eighteen pounders, was on the road from Dublin, escorted by two troops of horse.

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History,
&c.

Ibid.

On the ninth day of August, William decamped, and began his approaches to the town, through grounds intersected with ditches and hedges lined with Irish infantry, who retreated gradually as the pioneers levelled the inclosures, until they came to a narrow and incumbered pass between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. Of these, the broadest was occupied by the Irish horse, while their musketeers were drawn up under cover of the hedges on the right and left. As the English army advanced in order, two field-pieces were so planted as to bear upon the enemy's horse; and after some discharges forced them from their ground, while their infantry were attacked,

and

and after some resistance driven under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another advantageous post, were gained without resistance, and immediately mounted with field-pieces to annoy the town and outworks. Encouraged by this success, William encamped within cannon shot of the walls, without the usual precautions for security, and before his artillery arrived summoned the governor to surrender. Boileau addressed his answer, not to the king, to whom he would not give his royal titles, but to Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary. He expressed his surprise at the summons, and declared his resolution of meriting the good opinion of the prince of Orange, by a vigorous defence of the place entrusted to him by his majesty. But this spirited answer, William was assured, by no means corresponded with the sentiments of his garrison, who were prevented from an immediate submission only by the remonstrances of the governor, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield. And, to animate his hopes still farther, Ginckle, his Dutch general, gained a ford about three miles from the town, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, and where a strong detachment was now posted on each side of the river.

The garrison, on their part prepared for a vigorous defence. They learned from a French deserter the situation of the king's tent, and on this quarter directed all the fury of their artillery; so that William found it necessary to remove. Among other articles of intelligence, the deserter informed them of the train expected from Dublin, its route, its motions, the nature and number of its convoy. The enterprising spirit of Sarsfield was enflamed. He saw the desperate situation of his party, numbers of French troops already retired to Galway, and preparing to embark, those still in the town wavering and desponding, the Irish of themselves unequal to the enemy. Should they receive their cannon and other necessaries attending it, they must soon become masters of Limerick. He therefore, re-
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solved to make one bold effort to intercept them, the last he could attempt for his countrymen with any prospect of success; should he fail, he resolved to abandon their hopeless cause, and retire to France. With a party of chosen cavalry, he crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, about twelve miles above the English camp, marched by private ways well known to his men, lurked in the mountains, and waited the approach of the artillery and its escort. His motions were not unknown to the besiegers. They were informed that Sarsefield had crossed the Shannon on some secret expedition, of consequence enough to be entrusted to an officer so distinguished; the information was at first received with indifference; but being conveyed to William, he ordered Sir John Lanier to march with five hundred horse, and meet the train. Lanier executed his orders, but not with due alacrity. In the mean time, the artillery advanced within seven miles to the rear of the English camp. The officer who commanded the convoy, apprehending no danger at so small a distance from the army, encamped loosely on a plain, without precaution or discipline. The main body of the convoy was retired to rest, their horses at grass, their baggage and cannon carelessly disposed, when Sarsefield rushed suddenly upon them, in a moment cut their centinels and waggons to pieces, fell on the convoy, as they started from their sleep and attempted to regain their horses, and slaughtered or dispersed the whole party. He now collected the cannon, carriages, waggons, and ammunition; the cannon he filled with powder, fixing their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. The hideous explosion announced the success of this enterprize to Lanier and his party; who, when the haycock was already over, arrived in view of the enemy's rear, and made a futile attempt to intercept them. Sarsefield was better acquainted with the country, and returned triumphantly to Limerick.

THE news of this disaster was received in the English camp with consternation immediately succeeded by clamor and murmuring. It was imputed to the neglect of lord Portland and count Solmes, to the general indifference of the great officers to the king's service, or any other object but their own emolument, and to the secret disaffection of Lanier, who had formerly been a favourite of king James. While the army thus gave vent to their indignation, each agreeably to his passions and sentiments William alone maintained that composure which was unaccountable to his soldiers. They suspected him of having no real design to conclude the war, but only to keep the enemy cantoned about Limerick, and to preserve the conquests he had already made. But it was obviously his interest to complete the reduction of Ireland without delay. Two of his cannon had escaped uninjured in the general havock, some others were brought from Waterford. With these he furnished his batteries, and, after the interruption of a week, renewed his operations with vigor. The besieged, on their part, encouraged by the late success, animated by their officers, fired with emulation at the brave defence of Derry, and equally inveterate against their assailants defended themselves like men whose interests were to be decided by one final effort. Without entering into a minute detail of all the incidents of this siege, let it be sufficient to observe, that from the opening of the trenches on the eighteenth day of August, both the assault and the defence were maintained, with vigor; and William, who took an active part in every operation, was frequently exposed to danger; when, on the twenty-seventh, a breach was made twelve yards in length, and the king ordered the counterscarp, and two towers on each side of the breach, to be assaulted. Five hundred grenadiers in the farthest angle of the trenches leaped over, ran towards the counterscarp, were furiously opposed, but, in the midst of a tremendous fire, dislodged the enemy, and pursuing even to the breach,

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many were actually in the town, while the Irish ran from the walls in confusion. The regiments appointed to second them stopped at the counterscarp, agreeably to their orders. They, whose ardor had hurried them within the walls, thus found themselves unsupported, their ammunition spent, and the enemy, who discovered their distress, rallying and pouring down upon them. They prepared to retreat, but many of them were killed, and almost all wounded. The Irish again marched to the breach, and defended it in a rage of valor. Even their women mingled with the men, encouraged them, advanced before them, defied the besiegers, and assailed them with stones. For three hours a perpetual fire both of great and small arms was maintained on each side. One regiment of Brandenburgers seized a battery, but the powder catching fire, they were almost all blown into the air. The breach was still obstinately defended; where the walls were entire, the besiegers, who had no scaling ladders, wasted their fire to no purpose, and were exposed defenceless to all the fury of the enemy. Five hundred of their numbers were slain, and more than one thousand desperately wounded, when William at length ordered a retreat. On the succeeding morning a drummer was sent into the town to demand a truce for the purpose of burying the dead; but the governor haughtily refused it. The English army, still undismayed, was impatient for another assault. But a disappointment so severe in an advanced season, when heavy rains were expected, which might render the roads impassable to the artillery, determined the king to raise the siege. He ordered the batteries to be disarmed; and his forces, drawn gradually off, retired by slow marches without any molestation from the garrison. Here too, as at Athlone, the army was attended by a melancholy troop of protestants, who dreaded the fury of an exulting enemy, and followed the camp with so much of their effects as they could carry with them, without abode or settlement to shelter themselves

selves and their children, and without any security from the indiscriminate ravages of the soldiery.

THE friends of William describe him as supporting this defeat with astonishing composure and serenity; his enemies insist, that he was transported by his vexation even to the excesses of savage barbarity. We are told, that to free himself from the encumbrance of his sick and wounded, the houses in which they lay were set on fire; but unfortunately for this insolent defiance of truth, his sick and wounded had no houses to shelter them, and were indeed carefully conveyed to Cashel and Clonmel. Again, we are assured, that William on his retreat was asked what should be done with his prisoners? that he answered peevishly, "Burn them!" and that his orders were literally obeyed, and one thousand destroyed by fire. Such enormous and ridiculous falsehoods appear scarcely calculated to impose even on the vulgar and ignorant; yet the zealous impugnors of heresy have found their account, it seems in propagating and transmitting them.

HERE was the period of William's personal enterprises in Ireland. While his army lay at Clonmel, he proceeded to Waterford, and with prince George, the duke of Ormond, and other attendants, embarked at Duncannon fort, leaving the command of his forces to count Solmes and Ginckle, and committing his civil government to two lords justices, lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby, with a blank in their commission to be filled by a third name.

BUT notwithstanding the advanced season, the campaign was not yet ended. The earl of Marlborough had continued unemployed in England; and seems to have become obnoxious to the king, by the part which he and his consort had taken in the quarrel with the princess of Denmark. Impatient of his present inactivity, he formed a project for raising his own character, without being overshadowed by the king's personal interposition,

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or rivalled by his foreign generals. He represented the importance of Cork and Kinsale, places the most convenient for pouring succours into Ireland from France; and which, if once gained, would enlarge the quarters of the army, secure all the sea-ports from Dublin to the south, and favor the English traffic to the West Indies. All apprehensions from the French navy were dissipated; those of England and Holland were refitted; all internal disorders were allayed; five thousand forces lay in England ready for any service; with these, and such reinforcements as might be spared in Ireland, he engaged to reduce these two town. The proposal was accepted, and the embarkation prepared at Portsmouth, while William yet lay before Limerick. While men indulged their conjectures, the real object of this expedition remained a profound secret, until it was too late for the enemy to guard against it.

On the twenty-first day of September the earl arrived in Cork-road, drove the enemy from a battery, sent some armed boats to seize their guns, and landed without further opposition. Ginckle, on whom the chief command devolved by the departure of count Solmes, detached Sgravenmore to his assistance with nine hundred cavalry; and these were soon followed by four thousand foot under the prince of Wirtemberg, who expressed an ambition to share in this expedition. The operations of the siege had been already carried on with success when Wirtemberg arrived, and threatened to defeat the whole enterprize. He claimed the chief command by virtue of his superior rank; Marlborough insisted on the priority of his commission, he reminded the prince that his troops were merely auxiliaries, or rather Danish mercenaries, and that he himself led the forces of his own nation. The dispute grew warm and alarming; but, by the interposition of La Mellionere, a prudent French officer, was happily accommodated. The earl was persuaded to share the command with his rival, rather than
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retard the king's service. He commanded on the first day, and gave for the word, "Wirtemberg." The prince felt the full force of this politeness, and on the next day, when he received the command, the word was "Marlborough."

THE siege was now carried on, but not without some further contest between these generals. The garrison gradually abandoned their outworks; a breach was made in the wall, and the besiegers prepared for an assault. When, for this purpose, they were on the point of crossing a marsh at low water, the governor parleyed, and proposed terms of capitulation. Marlborough, who had now the command, insisted that the garrison should become prisoners of war. Wirtemberg condemned this severity, and contended, that more favorable terms should be granted. The dispute continued until the tide returned, and the water was at the highest. But now, the governor imagining all danger over, broke off this conference. The generals were provoked at his collusion; the breach was enlarged, and now the Dutch and English encouraged by the duke of Grafton and other volunteers, bravely passed the river, wading to their shoulders, and exposed to the enemy's fire, and posted themselves under the bank of a marsh, which served as a counterscarp to the city wall. Here the duke of Grafton was borne away mortally wounded, the most respected of all the sons of Charles the Second. The soldiers lamented the fate of this gallant lord, but without dismay prepared for a general assault. But now the garrison, whose ammunition was exhausted, renewed their parley, and consented to become prisoners of war, with all their officers, of whom several were of considerable note. The protestant prisoners were set at liberty; the protestant magistrates resumed their offices; and proclaimed the king and queen. All papists were ordered on pain of death to surrender their arms; a precaution absolutely necessary, as there were more than five thousand prisoners in the town.

Original
Letter of
Sgraven-
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THE severity of winter was approaching, and not a moment to be lost. On the very day of Marlborough's entry into Cork, a detachment was sent to summon Kinsale. The governor returned a scornful answer, threatening to put the messenger to death. The town itself was scarcely tenable; he, therefore, set it on fire, and placed his reliance on the two forts, the old, or Castle-ny-fort, and the new, which the late duke of Ormond had completed, and called Charles-fort. The first of these was taken after a brave resistance, in which the governor, several officers, and half the garrison were slain. The reduction of Charles-fort appeared of still greater difficulty; and Marlborough could not conceal his disappointment, at finding it so much stronger than he expected. To his summons the governor carelessly replied, that "it would be time enough to talk on this subject a month hence;" but being vigorously pressed for ten days, when the besiegers were preparing for a general assault, he parleyed and capitulated. In this critical time, when delay might prove fatal to the English forces, he was allowed conditions more favorable than those granted to Cork. The garrison marched out with arms and baggage, and was conducted to Limerick. Thus, in twenty-three days, the earl of Marlborough effected his brave purpose, to the utter mortification of those who had represented the undertaking as injudicious and impracticable. The king did justice to his merit; the people were delighted at the success of their native general.

Ibid.

WHILE the fate of Cork and Kinsale remained yet uncertain, Ginckle could by no means venture to dispose his forces in winter-quarters, for the enemy was alert and elevated. No sooner had the siege of Limerick been raised, than Boileau retired with his French troops, and joined his countrymen who were recalled, in consequence of the shameful representations of Irish cowardice made by James, and still waited at Galway for transports. The Irish were by no means mortified at their departure.

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That superiority which these foreigners affected to assume, the partiality which James had discovered to his French auxiliaries, and the preference given to their officers in all promotions, disgusted and exasperated the natives. The French spoke with contempt of the meanness of the Irish; the Irish affected to ridicule the pomp and pageantry of the French. They cursed those proud fellows who strutted in their "leathern trunks," so they called their great boots, and lamented that they were ever preferred to their own brave countrymen. Hence arose frequent broils and quarrels; and now the separation was equally agreeable to both parties. The Irish were left to the command of Sarsefield, their countryman, so distinguished by his valour, and so popular by his late success. They resolved to exert their native strength with double vigour; and, transported by their victorious defence of Limerick, talked wildly of crossing the Shannon, piercing through Leinster, and setting fire to the capital. Their necessities might drive them to some desperate excursions: Ginckle, therefore still kept his forces posted in different parts about the Shannon, ready to embody, and to oppose any sudden attempts. But, on the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, the general, conceiving that the ardor of the enemy must be abated, ventured to withdraw his troops into winter-quarters.

He soon found reason to regret that he had not so formed his frontier line as to secure the passes and castles along the Shannon. The Irish, mured to the severity of winter, acquainted with every road, urged by necessity, heated with animosity, made their excursions with success, surprised his smaller parties, ravaged, plundered, set houses and villages in flames, and spread a general terror and consternation. The miserable inhabitants, of whatever party or denomination, fled from the outrages of the soldiery to their respective friends, but found no security or protection. The contending armies, were

Walker's
Diary.Impartial
History,
&c.

Ibid.

were equally distressed; and soldiers, unpaid and unprovided, spurned at all discipline with impunity, and supplied their wants by violence, without distinction of parties, and without regard to formal protections, or the faith of promises. To aggravate the distresses arising from a rapacious soldiery, the country swarmed every where with robbers and murderers, who lived in a state of savage nature, unrestrained by the laws of peace or war. The northern province had from the earliest times harboured a particular species of Irish called Creaghts, who issued from their retreats with their wives, children, and cattle, roved in search of subsistence, without any certain abode or destination, and plundering every district which they visited, were dreaded and detested by their countrymen. In the civil war commenced in sixteen hundred and forty-one, we have seen them particularly active, and forming the army of Owen O'Nial: nor had they been entirely suppressed on the conclusion of this war; but, during the reign of Charles the Second, continued their depredations; and, under the name of Tories, became a peculiar object of the attention of government. They seized the occasion of present disorders; and when, at every mass, the priests exhorted all men to take arms, and stand prepared for war, they multiplied, and were soon distinguished by the title of * RAPPAREES, from the Irish name of their half pike,

* A LATE ingenious writer ascribes the outrages of these men to the ease with which they gained subsistence, and resolves their manners into their diet, which, he ventures to assert, consisted of potatoes alone. I am obliged to observe, in justification of my own account, that they were really driven to their excursions by necessity; that the Creaghts, whom all the narrators and the Gazettes of these times speak of, as synonymous with Rapparees, fed on the milk of their kine, and wandered to find pasture; that this species of rovers, who now proved so offensive, existed, lived by rapine, and were abhorred by their own countrymen, long before the potatoe was known in Ireland; and that neither at this time, nor for some years after the Revolution, were potatoes the general diet of Irish peasantry.

pike, a weapon easily procured by the most barbarous. Many were influenced by example, and many driven by necessity to unite with them. They who received protections from William's generals, and were yet plundered by his soldiers, ran with particular animosity to swell the numbers of these ravagers. In summer they hung about the English camp; every straggling soldier they killed, even for the sake of his arms or clothing; and, in the rage of national hatred, frequently mangled his dead body. In winter, they appeared in the different quarters with all the marks of humility and abasement. Their weapons were carefully concealed, but lay ready for execution. They assembled in the dead of night in solitary places, projected their excursions, rushed suddenly on their prey, vanished at the first appearance of opposition, and were again readily collected. Through the whole dreary season of the year, the English forces were every where harassed in pursuit of these miscreants. The Irish soldiers were frequently permitted to join their troops, and to share and encourage their disorders; the English frequently found it necessary to repel them by another body of marauders of their own party, who were called Protestant Rapparees.

To give some check to such hideous aggravations of the calamities of war, the new lords justices at Dublin laboured to give form to the civil government. All indictments of high treason were removed to the superior courts, now furnished with judges. Lords lieutenant, and deputy lieutenants, were appointed in the several counties, subject to the English power; commissions granted to the officers of the militia, who were armed, in order to defend their properties, and a privy council constituted of such men as were esteemed most attached to the new government. The commission of forfeitures, found of prejudice to the subjects, and of little advantage to the crown, was superseded; a variety of proclamations published, to regulate trade and

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History,
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and commerce, to restrain the disaffected, and to promote the public peace. With a particular, and perhaps a necessary severity, it was ordained, that papists of every county should be responsible for the ravages committed by those of their communion; and that where any number of rapparees were collected, no popish priest should be suffered to reside. Some weak attempts were made to correct the disorders of the army; but the officers treated the civil power with disregard; the soldiers acknowledged no superiors but their officers; the foreigners knew no distinction between the different inhabitants of Ireland; the people exclaimed in the bitterness of grief, that the army were worse than rapparees; yet they had the candour to acknowledge, that the Dutch were honorably distinguished by an inoffensive modesty.

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History.
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NOTHING but a general reduction and settlement of the kingdom could end those calamities, which Ireland had experienced for ages, with little interruption, and which now oppressed the nation. But several officers of William's army were suspected of secret reluctance to a final decision of the present war, which might call them from Ireland to a severer service, and against an enemy more dangerous than the Irish had as yet appeared. Several of his privy counsellors also, were said to be equally averse to such offers of pardon as might break the power of the enemy, by inducing numbers to lay down their arms. It was ever the private interest of officers of state, and the great English settlers in this kingdom, that rebels should be exterminated rather than reconciled. Ginckle, indeed, was possessed with much more liberal sentiments, both as to a vigorous prosecution of the war, and the indulgence due to those who might be inclined to submission. Winter did not pass without several skirmishes between the troops of each army, and almost perpetual action between the militia and the rapparees. The general projected an incursion into Kerry, a country over-run with Irish, and which supplied

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Correspondence
MS.

supplied their army with many necessaries. The possession of this part of Ireland was deemed of such consequence, that great preparations were made for the expedition; and Shovel, now on the coast, was directed by the lords justices to attend the orders of Ginckle with his fleet. The general, on this occasion, made pressing instances to be furnished with a declaration of pardon to repenting rebels. But this was not agreeable to the sentiments of the privy council. The justices hesitated; they required that overtures of submission should first be made by considerable bodies of the enemy: they pleaded their limited instructions, and that the letter of lord Nottingham, which directed them to treat with rebels, did not authorize them to publish a declaration so extensive as was required; they expressed their desire, that Ginckle should publish offers of pardon in his own name, and promised to ratify them at any hazard, should they be found absolutely necessary for the service. This reluctance and hesitation, which proceeded from a fear of disobliging some powerful members of the privy council, was of the less consequence at present, as the general found it impracticable to penetrate into Kerry through broken roads, and in a dreary season.

THE enemy, on their part, made several efforts to break in upon the English frontier. A magazine of forage was provided at Athlone for five thousand horse and dragoons for ten days, which indicated some design of more than ordinary moment. It soon appeared, that the enemy intended to attack the English garrison of Mullingar; and for this purpose they were now employed in fortifying Ballymore, a little town between this garrison and Athlone. The garrison was reinforced; and Ginckle himself arrived at Mullingar, and led about two thousand foot and one thousand horse against a considerable body of the enemy, encamped near Ballymore. They drew up with an appearance of resolution. The pass which they occupied was secured by palisades; but the Irish, in their ignorance and precipitation,

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Pulteney's Letter in
Tindal's
Continuation.

pitiation, pointed the palisadoes inward towards themselves, so as to secure, instead of restraining the enemy. They were quickly put to flight, and pursued to a place called the Moat of Grenoge, from which the skirmish took its name; here they again drew up, but were driven into the town, where they attempted to entrench themselves, but soon abandoned the design, and fled finally to Athlone, in the utmost consternation. In this action the Irish lost about three hundred men, and several officers, with their baggage, a quantity of arms, and five hundred horses; and so great was the terror and confusion at Athlone, that the gates were shut against the fugitives, of whom many fled for shelter to the bogs, and many perished in the river.

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History,
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Clark's
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THIS action was of the greater consequence, as it defeated a design on the English garrisons, which might have proved fatal to the operations of the ensuing campaign, and as it damped the spirits of the Irish, a people violently affected either with good or bad fortune, and increased the confusion now subsisting in their councils. Tyrconnel had been sent to France to solicit succours, and returned with a miserable pittance of eight thousand pounds, and some clothing, wretchedly insufficient. The money was distributed as a donation among the soldiers, but could not allay their discontents and their suspicions of the insincerity of France. Tyrconnel himself appeared gloomy and desponding; he had served his master without conscience, and was now disgraced without reason. James committed the administration of his civil affairs to Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice; and, as Tyrconnel declared for moderate measures, and for securing the remains of the nation by a submission, he was accused of treachery. To this it was imputed, that in France he had recommended to send officers, stores, and provisions to Ireland, without any troops. Sarsefield, whose military genius determined him to seek security in arms, and rather

rather to die bravely in the field than to abandon the cause in which he was engaged, opposed the temporizing councils of Tyrconnel. The officers who declared for war reviled and insulted him. They still flattered their followers with hopes of assistance from France; that Louis would speedily send his triumphant navy against Cork and Kinsale; that arms, clothes, and other necessaries, for twenty-five thousand men, were every day expected; that England was still discontented, secret designs still formed in favor of James, and that the weakness of government was evidently manifested in the distresses to which the English forces in Ireland were abandoned. Some French officers gradually arrived, and repeated the assurances of speedy success. At length monsieur Saint-Ruth, a man who boasted his service against the heretics of France, and had lately the honour of reducing Savoy, landed at Limerick with a commission of chief commander. Sarsfield was justly discontented; nor could the title of earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to this unnecessary and unreasonable partiality to a foreigner. Saint-Ruth, who was not supplied with those vast stores the Irish had expected, resolved on a defensive war, ordered the towns on the Irish side of the Shannon to be strengthened, and with the main army took his station behind Athlone.

GINCKLE, on his part, had been considerably retarded by the want of money, provisions, and other necessaries. These were however gradually supplied, new reinforcements arrived from England; and while the lords justices issued such orders to the militia, as might secure the exterior quarters of the kingdom, the army assembled at Mullingar, as it was resolved to open the campaign by the siege of Athlone. Ginckle was attended by a number of gallant officers, fired with emulation, and tenacious of the honor of their respective countries, the princes of Wirtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, Talmash, the

English general, Mackay the brave Scot who had reduced the Highlanders, Sgravenmore, La Mel-louiere and Rouvigny, Tetteau the Dane, the Dutch count Nassau, all already distinguished in the Irish war. A considerable train of artillery arrived from Dublin; but the army, when collected, was inferior to that of the enemy; a defect abundantly supplied by the confidence of the men, and the gallantry and experience of their officers.

Story's
wars of
Ireland.

THE campaign opened auspiciously by the reduction of the fort of Ballymore, which the enemy, encouraged by the convenience and natural strength of the place, had fortified in the winter, and occupied with a thousand of their choicest forces. No attempt was made either to relieve or to abandon this place. The governor was threatened with military execution, if he did not surrender within two hours. He demanded to march out with the honors of war; and, when this was denied, sustained the attack for one day; but, at the sight of some armed boats, launched on a lake which encompassed the defenceless side of the island on which his fort was built, he and his garrison cried for mercy, and were admitted prisoners of war. As the place lay convenient for maintaining a communication between Athlone, Mullingar, and Dublin, Ginckle ordered the breaches to be repaired, and additional fortifications to be made; nor did he march forward until these works were finished, and an English garrison stationed in the fort.

Ibid.

ON the eighteenth day of June, the general advanced with a party of horse within a few miles of Athlone, and from an eminence surveyed the town, and the situation of the Irish army, which lay encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at a distance of two miles from the Shannon. The next day his army was in motion through lanes lined with Irish infantry, who gradually retired at the approach of their enemy; and, as if they had been stationed as guides to lead them forward by the

the nearest ways, poured into the English district of Athlone. Here, though the houses had been laid in ruins, yet Douglas, in his expedition of last year, had not found time to demolish the walls. These were repaired and strengthened, and the enemy seemed resolved to defend both sides of the river. A battery of ten guns soon made a considerable breach, and orders were given for the assault. The enemy defended the breach; but, after some loss on each side, were driven to the bridge, (by this time repaired) and ran with such confusion into the Irish town, that many were crushed to death, and many plunged into the river from the battlements, and perished. But now the assailants, in the ardour of their success, found new difficulties to encounter. The arch of the bridge nearest to the Irish town was again broken. The enemy lay entrenched on the other side, and from their works fired furiously on the English district. The ford between the two towns was deep, narrow, and stony. At another place towards Lanesborough, he formed a scheme for passing by a bridge of pontons; but the enemy discovered the design, and guarded the pass. Ginckle now saw no means of forcing his way but by the bridge: here, while his batteries and mortars played incessantly, he carried on a wooden-work for the purpose of throwing planks over the broken arch. Though his workmen were by no means sheltered from the batteries of the enemy, they had almost completed their design, when a serjeant and ten men in armour rushed from the opposite side, attempted to destroy their works, and were all slain. Another party repeated the desperate attack, and with more success; they resolutely cast down the beams and planks into the river, and two survivors returned in triumph.

THE general, not yet disconcerted, made another effort to force a passage to the town, and carried on his work by a close gallery on the broken arch, which was soon completed; and now, after an obstinate contest of nine days, when several breaches had

Story's
wars of
Ireland.

had been made both in the walls and the castle, it was resolved in a council of war, to pass the Shannon by three different ways. One party was appointed to force the bridge, another to cross the ford below it, and a third to pass by floats and pontons about nine hundred feet farther. In the morning, when this bold effort was to be made, and the army stood ready to be commanded, the pontons were not prepared without some delay, the Irish were informed by deserters of the intended enterprize, and their troops were seen marching in great numbers from their camp into the town. The besiegers still persevered; money was distributed among the soldiers to animate them in an attempt of so much danger; the choicest of the Irish forces were drawn to the works, and on each side all was anxiety and agitation; when, in this moment of suspense, the enemy's granadoes set fire to some fascines on the broken arch; the flames quickly caught the gallery; the fire and smook were blown into the faces of the besiegers with insupportable violence; nor could they prevent the utter destruction of that part of their gallery which extended towards the enemy. The attack was countermanded; the Irish exulted; and Saint-Ruth expressed his confidence in the security of Athlone, by inviting a number of gentlemen and ladies to his camp, and entertaining them with all the ease and elegance suited to a time of perfect peace.

It was now expected that the siege must be immediately raised; and the English, by drawing off some of their cannon, seemed to countenance such expectations. Ginekle, without delay, convened another council, in which it was warmly debated whether the besiegers were to retire, or still to attempt the passage of the Shannon. To remain for any time in their present situation was impossible; as the forage was destroyed for several miles; to retire before an exulting enemy was inconvenient and dispiriting, might open them a way to the very walls of
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of Dublin, might force the army back to the northern province, and confine them to a defensive war. On the other hand the consequences of an unsuccessful attack were evidently fatal, and Ginkle seemed inclined to retire. The duke of Wirtemberg, and other general officers, contended, that no brave action could be performed without hazard; that on all great attempts they had hitherto experienced the undaunted bravery of their own troops and the inferiority of the enemy. They reminded Ginkle that the passage by the ford was not so dangerous as they had at first imagined, that three Danish criminals had tried it on promise of their lives, passed and returned, and thus pointed out the way to victory. Mackay, the Scottish general alone, in the caution and positiveness of age, opposed the design, and from the beginning declared against attempting to pass the river in the face of a town and an army*. The others thought only of the glory attending such a daring enterprize, and each contended for the honor of leading on the troops. Ginkle gave such a degree of opposition as might encrease their ardor and engage their pride, in the success of a design in which they had borne down the opinion of their general; and it was

* In some circumstances of this siege I deemed it necessary to follow Sir John Dalrymple, who professes to write from MS. memoirs of general Mackay. Such memoirs, if written by the general, or under his direction, are of undoubted authority with respect to the operations, in which he took so considerable a part: in other particulars their authority may be fairly contested. For instance, we are told, from these memoirs, that on the first repulse of the English, and the burning of their works, when Saint-Ruth expected that the siege must be raised, a sudden panic seized the protestants of Ireland, and the citizens of Dublin barricaded all the avenues of the city. Now, it evidently appears from the original correspondence between the lords justices at Dublin and the English camp, that this event was not known in the capital until intelligence was received of the taking of Athlone on the succeeding morning: nor was it possible indeed, that in so short an interval it could have been conveyed through the different parts of Ireland, so as to have any extensive influence on the protestant party.

was finally resolved to attempt the passage on the next morning. To encourage the English forces, they were assured by deserters, that Saint Ruth, in full confidence that the siege must be immediately raised, had detached three of his worst regiments to man the works; and, to enflame their pride, the Irish all night insulted them from the opposite banks of the river, and exclaimed in derision, "that they had but ill earned the money yesterday distributed by their officers."

Dalrymple from
MS. Memoirs of
Mackay.

In the rotation of duty, the command of the passage devolved on Mackay: but Ginckle, unwilling to entrust it to the officer who alone had declared against the attempt, consigned it to Talmash; Mackay complained of this indignity; the English general modestly relinquished his pretensions, entreating permission to attend as a volunteer. That the enemy might not be alarmed by any extraordinary commotion in the camp, or the English town, it was resolved to make the attack at the ordinary hour of relieving the guards, when a double garrison might appear without notice or suspicion.

Story,

Dalrymple, from
Mackay's
Memoirs.
Story.

Two thousand men were appointed for this service; and, at the signal given, by tolling the church bell, their advanced guard boldly entered the river, amidst the acclamations of their companions. Mackay, their commander, waded by the side of his men; he was followed by La Melioniere, Tetteau, the prince of Hesse, and other officers; Talmash attended as a volunteer, encouraging the men. Wirtemberg, having his horse shot under him, was conveyed through the river on the shoulders of his grenadiers. The English from their works and batteries fired furiously upon the enemy; the enemy with equal fury thundered on those who were passing the ford; but the detachment advanced intrepidly through fire and smoke, gained the opposite banks, and mounted the breaches next the river. Some flew to the assistance of their friends, who were laying planks over the broken bridge, others to support the pontons, while the Irish fled with

with astonishment to their camp, and not without considerable slaughter. Thus, by a surprising effort of valour, the English gained the town and possessed the works which remained entire towards the enemy's camp, within half an hour from their first entrance of the river.

On this occasion Saint-Ruth betrayed a carelessness and confidence utterly unworthy of a commander. Story. On receiving the first intelligence that the enemy were passing the ford, he exclaimed that it was impossible; that they could not presume to attempt the town while he and his army lay so near. Sarsefield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage, and pressed him to send speedy succours. The Frenchman was offended; Sarsefield retorted his disdain; when a messenger in breathless consternation just found words to inform them that the enemy were in the town. Saint-Ruth, dissembling his vexation, proudly commanded that they should be driven out again; and some fruitless efforts were made for this purpose. But now the English possessed the works opposite to his camp, and pointed their own cannon against the enemy. Saint-Ruth retired in vexation; the French officers exclaiming against the Irish, the Irish execrating their French general and his countrymen. The castle of Athlone followed the fate of the town; the governor and five hundred men were made prisoners of war; and twelve hundred more of the enemy's numbers were either slain or taken during the course of the siege.

SAINT-RUTH had hitherto, it is said, flattered Story. himself with hopes of reducing Ireland to the dominion of the French monarch. He solicited the Irish to swear allegiance to his master; all orders London Gazette. were issued in the name, not of James, but of Narrative Louis. Such, at least, was the intelligence given of the progress by deserters; and, to confirm it, the English saw, of general Ginckle. with surprize, the standards of France waving 4to. Lond. in 1691. the town of Athlone. The reduction of this place, in

in view of this general and his army, was a dreadful mortification to his hopes, and such a diminution of his character, as required some immediate effort to redeem it. Those of the Irish, who inclined to the French interest, were still amused with expectations of powerful succours, and still implicitly obedient to Saint-Ruth. They, who had bravely sustained the fury of battle, imputed their late misfortune to the weakness and inexperience of their associates, and still entertained hopes of better success, when their men should be more inured to danger, and their general less confident and more cautious. They, who had fled in the hour of trial, were stung with reproach, and impatient for an occasion to retrieve their honor. They, who were most affected with the neglect and insincerity of the French king, who espoused the cause of James from principle, who had fought for the freedom of their religion, or the recovery of what they called their property, reflected seriously on the alarming situation of their party. They knew the real power of the English government; they had no hopes of pardon, no prospect of subsisting but by some desperate exertion of valour. "It is your fault," said their prisoners to the English officers, "that you have so many enemies. We are sensible of our unhappiness in depending on the French; but you have made it necessary for us; we must, and will, and are preparing to fight it out." Thus, the whole Irish party, with different views, and from various motives, concurred in the resolution of bringing their long-protracted contest to a final decision in the field.

Clark's
Correspondence.
MS.

THE English general, on his part, had experienced the inconveniences of war in an exhausted country, irregularly and scantily supplied from England, and was equally impatient for an immediate decision. He was now employed in repairing the fortifications of Athlone; and, before he advanced in search of the enemy, it was deemed highly necessary

necessary to publish such a proclamation, and encouragement to those who should submit, as might break the force of the enemy, and possibly prevent the necessity of an engagement. But here the great English subjects of Ireland interposed, and laboured to defeat any accommodation with the Irish. "I Clarke's
 " did very much hope," said the secretary of the Correspondence
 lord justices in a letter to Ginckle, "that upon MS.
 " this progress over the Shannon, some favorable
 " declaration might have been emitted to break
 " the Irish army, and save the expence of a field
 " battle. But I see our civil officers regard more
 " adding fifty pounds a year to the English interest
 " in this kingdom, than saving England the ex-
 " pence of fifty thousand. I promise myself it is
 " for the king's, the allies, and England's interest,
 " to remit most or all of the forfeitures, so that we
 " could immediately bring the kingdom under their
 " majesties obedience." Ginckle was so possessed
 with the necessity of a proclamation of pardon,
 that he published one on the fifth day of July,
 which the justices, in deference to the privy coun-
 sellors, seemed inclined to disavow; but the pro-
 priety of this measure was so evident, and the oc-
 casion so pressing, that in two days after a procla-
 mation was formally signed and published by go-
 vernment, offering a free pardon to all soldiers and
 officers who should surrender within three weeks,
 with a reasonable payment for their horses, arms,
 and furniture; to all governors of garrisons who
 should surrender their posts; to all officers who
 should bring with them their regiments, troops, or
 companies, a free pardon and full possession of
 their estates; liberal rewards to those who had no
 landed property; and to all a free exercise of reli-
 gion, with such security in this particular as a par-
 liament of Ireland might devise, and which the king
 would endeavor to procure, so as to convince the
 Irish of the difference between the blessings of
 English government and the tyranny of France.

Clark's
Corres-
pondence
MS.

THIS proclamation, however liberal and extensive, was yet published too late for the desired effect. Some of the Irish sued for protections; and even of the rapparees, numbers laid down their arms. But Saint-Ruth collected his forces from the several garrisons, posted them advantageously, and resolved to wait the approach of the English; and the great body of his forces was equally determined to set their fortune on one desperate effort. Ginckle was no stranger to their purpose, and to strengthen his army, drew off every detachment that could be spared from every English post. The protestants were terrified at the defenceless state to which their districts were thus reduced. Even in the capital, the lords justices were alarmed, and formed a camp of militia to guard against any incursions of the enemy.

Story.

THE fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided. Whether the English power was to be at length unalterably established in this harassed country, or whether it was to be once more exposed to the calamities of a tedious intestine war, seemed to depend on the event of a few days, and the minds of all men were of consequence strained to a painful pitch of anxiety and expectation. On the tenth day of June Ginckle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Suir, in the county of Roscommon, a pass which the Irish might have maintained with advantage: but it soon appeared that they had taken their station to greater advantage, about three miles farther to the south-west. Their camp extended more than two miles along the heights of Kilcommeden, with a rivulet on their left running between hills and morasses, and these again skirted by a large bog, in breadth almost a mile; on the side of which stood the ruins of an old castle, called by the name of the neighbouring village, Aghrim, entrenched and occupied by infantry, and commanding the only pass on that side to the Irish camp. All along the front, at a distance of about half a mile from their encampment, the bog

bog extended to their right, where was another pass through a range of small hills opening into wider ground. The slope of Kilcommeden, even to the edge of the bog, was intersected by hedges and ditches, communicating with each other, and lined with Irish musketeers. Ginckle, with eighteen thousand men, was now to attack an enemy amounting to twenty-five thousand, thus posted, and who wanted only an additional number of cannon to take the full advantage of their situation. Saint-Ruth, from his eminence, had a full view of the motions of the English; he saw them cross the river and prepare to give him battle; he drew out his main army in front of his camp. He rode to every squadron and battalion; he reminded the Irish officers, that their future fortune depended on the issue of one encounter; that they were now to fight for their honors, their liberty, and their estates; that they were now to establish their religion, for which he himself had displayed an extraordinary zeal, on such a firm basis, as the powers of hell and heresy should never shake; that the dearest interests and most honorable engagements of this life, and the ravishing prospects of eternal happiness called for a vigorous exertion of that valour which their enemies affected to deny them. The priests ran through the ranks, labouring to inspire the soldiers with the same sentiments; and, we are told, obliged them to swear on the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours.

On the twelfth day of July at noon, (for the fogs of the morning had hitherto prevented them) the English army advanced in as good order as their broken and uneven ground would admit. It was, in the first place, deemed necessary to gain the pass to the right of the enemy. A small party of Danes, sent to force it, fled instantly at the appearance of a still smaller party of the enemy. Some English dragoons were next employed, were boldly opposed, were sustained by other bodies; the enemy retreated:

Story.

ed ; as the assailants pressed forward, they found themselves encountered by new parties ; but, after an obstinate contest of an hour, they forced their way beyond the bog ; nor possibly was Saint-Ruth displeased to have an opportunity of fighting one wing of the English separately, in a place where, if defeated, their retreat must prove fatal. The skirmish served to convince Ginckle both of the spirit and of the advantages of the enemy. It was now debated whether the battle should not be deferred to the next morning ; and, with difficulty, resolved, to prevent the enemy from decamping in the night and prolonging the war, by an immediate renewal of the engagement. By the advice of general Mackay, it was resolved to begin the attack on the enemy's right wing, which would oblige Saint-Ruth to draw off some forces from his left, so that the passage by Aghrim Castle would be rendered less dangerous for the English horse, and the whole army be enabled to engage. About the hour of five in the evening, the left wing of the English, both horse and foot, advanced boldly against the enemy, who obstinately maintained their posts. The musketeers, supported by their cavalry, received and returned the English fire, defending their ditches until the musquets of each side closed with the other ; then retiring by their lines of communication, flanked their assailants, and charged them with double fury. The engagement was thus continued for one hour and a half, when Saint-Ruth, as was foreseen, found it necessary to draw a considerable part of the cavalry from his left to support his right wing. Mackay seized the favorable moment, and while the cavalry were in motion to gain the pass by Aghrim Castle, several regiments of infantry in the centre were ordered to march through the bog, extending along their front, and to post themselves on the lowest ditches, until the horse should gain the passage, and wheel from the right to support their charge. The infantry plunged into the bog,
and

and were instantly sunk to their middle in mire and water; they floundered on unmolested, but no sooner had they gained the opposite side than they received a furious fire from the hedges and trenches occupied by the enemy. They advanced still undismayed; the Irish retired on purpose to draw them forward; transported with ardour, they forgot their orders, and pursued almost to the main battle of the Irish. Both horse and foot now poured down upon them, assailed them in front, in flank, forced them from their ground, drove some of them back into the bog, pursued them with slaughter, took several prisoners of note: while Saint-Ruth exclaimed in an extacy of joy, "Now will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin."

His attention was soon diverted to the English ^{Story.} cavalry on his left, commanded by Talmash, who seeing the alarming disorder of the centre, pushed with incredible ardour close by the walls of the castle, through all the fire of the enemy, forcing their way through a narrow and dangerous pass, to the amazement of Saint-Ruth, who asked what the English meant? "To force their way to our left," replied his officers. "They are brave fellows!" said the general, "it is a pity they should be so exposed."

MACKAY, Talmash, Rouvigny, now gradually ^{hid.} pressed forward from the right, bearing down all opposition; the infantry of the centre rallied, advanced, and regained their former ground; the left wing fought bravely, and was bravely opposed, Saint-Ruth saw that the fortune of the day depended on making an impression on the enemy's cavalry in their rapid progress from the right. He rode down from his station on the hill of Kilcommeden, and having directed one of his batteries where to point their fire, led a body of horse against them. In this critical moment, a cannon-ball deprived him of life. His body was conveyed away, and the intelligence of his death ran through the lines. His cavalry

cavalry halted, and, as they had no orders, returned towards their former station. The Irish, beheld this retreat with dismay; they were confounded and disordered; their disorder encreased; Sarsefield, on whom the command devolved, had been neglected by the proud Frenchman ever since their altercation at Athlone. As the order of battle had not been imparted to him, he could not support the dispositions of the late general. The English, in the mean time, pressed forward, drove the enemy to their camp, pursued their advantage until the Irish, after an engagement supported with the fairest prospect of success, while they had a general to direct their valour, fled precipitately, the foot to a bog, the horse toward Loughrea.

DURING the heat of this action, some Danish forces stationed at the extremity of the left wing, kept several bodies of the enemy in awe. When they perceived the advantage at length gained by the battalions in the centre, they charged their opponents, to prevent their falling back to the relief of their associates. The Irish received them intrepidly, and continued the contest for some time; but, on the general rout of the army, fled with their countrymen. In the battle, and in a bloody pursuit of three miles, seven thousand of the Irish army were slain. The unrelenting fury of the victors appeared in the number of their prisoners, which amounted only to four hundred and fifty. On their side, seven hundred fell, one thousand were wounded. All the cannon, ammunition, tents, and baggage of the enemy were taken, with a great quantity of small arms, eleven standards, and thirty-two colours, destined as a present to the queen. Such was the crowning victory of the English army.

Ibid.

NIGHT put an end to the pursuit, and till morning the victors lay on their arms amidst the heaps of their slaughtered enemies. After a few days of necessary refreshment to the troops, Ginckle led them

them through a desolated country to Galway, which he deemed necessary to be reduced, before he should attempt Limerick, the great and final refuge of the Irish. The garrison of Galway consisted of seven weak regiments; but they expected considerable reinforcements. D'Ussone, a French officer of distinction in the town, assured them of succours from his royal master. An Irish partizan, who was known and celebrated by the name of Balderog O'Donnel, promised to march to their relief at the head of six or seven thousand northern rovers; and some assistance was expected from the garrison of Limerick. With such hopes, lord Dillon, the governor, returned a defiance to the summons of Ginckle, and declared, that he, D'Ussone, and all his officers were unanimous in their resolution of defending the town. But, after a resistance of a few days, it was found that the attempt made to throw some troops into the town from Limerick, was frustrated by the vigilance and bravery of the besiegers; that O'Donnel's followers, alarmed at the defeat of Aghrim, had deserted him with the usual instability of the old Irish; and that he, with the remains of his wild troop, amounting to six hundred, were preparing to make terms with English government. The townsmen and magistracy declared warmly for surrendering, and, although they were at first imprisoned for their presumption, yet the garrison quickly adopted the same sentiments. The Irish had been busily employed in finishing a fort to the south-east of the town, which commanded a great part of the wall on that side. A detachment crossed the river, and, conducted by a deserter, surprised and seized the fort. The governor parleyed, a cessation was granted, and a treaty of capitulation commenced. Talmash, and other officers, elevated by success, were utterly averse to granting any terms. But Ginckle wisely considered, that the season of action was gradually wasting; that the Irish war was a grievous embarrassment to the continental interests of

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of the king, and a dangerous encouragement to the disaffected in England. William, he knew, was impatient to be freed from an oppressive and vexatious burden. To prevent another year of bloodshed in a country already wasted by distress, to extricate the king at once from difficulties grievous and dangerous, he resolved to grant such conditions to Galway, as might convince the whole Irish party of the infatuation of their perseverance in a desperate cause, and dispose them to an immediate submission. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honors of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick, with liberty to those who desired it to continue in the town, or to repair to their respective habitations. A free pardon was granted to the governor, magistracy, freemen, and inhabitants, with full possession of their estates and liberties under the acts of settlement and explanation. The Romish clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers to practise, and their estated gentlemen to bear arms. Nor were these favorable terms without their effect; several considerable parties daily revolted from the Irish, and were either entertained in the army on taking the oaths of fidelity to the king and queen, or dismissed peaceably to their habitations, at their own option.

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pondence
MS.

THE capitulation of Galway was considered in England as an event immediately to be attended by the final reduction of Ireland. In full assurance that Limerick must surrender, the queen gave orders that a fleet of transports should be prepared for conveying ten thousand foot and six hundred horse from Cork and Kinsale to the assistance of her royal consort in Flanders. An interval of one month was happily allowed for this embarkation, and the design was farther postponed until the reduction of Limerick should be effected, an enterprize in which the generals employed in the service of Ireland saw more danger and difficulty than were discovered in the English cabinet. Sarsfield now adven-

now adventured over the Shannon with all the forces he could collect, amounting to seven thousand, resolving to desolate the country, and threatened the city of Cashel with fire and slaughter: and, although he was soon obliged to retire, as the garrison of Cashel was reinforced, and the English advanced towards Limerick, yet the Irish spoke with confidence of meeting the enemy, and once more trying their fortune in the field. Ginckle proceeded gradually and cautiously; and as the time limited for the submission of the Irish, by a former proclamation of government, was expired, he enlarged the term by a new declaration, promising pardon and protection, favor and encouragement, to all those, who by a timely submission should contribute to save the effusion of blood.

THE town to which he approached, notwithstanding the apparent resolution of the garrison, was a scene of contention, discord, and suspicion. The French and Irish parties, the moderate and the violent, those who were for fighting to the last, those who wished to save the remains of their country by submitting, all contended with an acrimony increased by their misfortunes. Tyreconnel expired in the bitterness of vexation: the vulgar Irish imputed his death to poison, administered by those who detested his moderate counsels; others were confident that he had been tried, condemned, and executed, for a private correspondence with the English. Three new lords justices now assumed the civil government in the name of the abdicated king, Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden; and, like Tyreconnel, declared for submission. Barsefield was brave, violent, and enterprising, and of consequence averse to all compositions. The French generals expected succours from their own country, and declared for war. Some of the Irish officers had already engaged in a private correspondence with the English, and were solicitous to secure their own particular interests; others, with more generous

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sentiments, declined any composition which should not include the whole party of Irish catholics. Among these different factions, they who favored the French interest, and contended for a vigorous prosecution of war, were encouraged by new intelligence of twenty ships of war speedily to arrive, under the command of monsieur Chateau-Renault, and for the present became predominant. Nor were the English less divided in sentiments: some condemned all overtures made to the enemy; others, with more condescension to the king's views, were for terminating the war on any terms; some advanced to Limerick in full confidence of success; others, recollecting the misfortune of the former attempt on this town, desponded, and proposed to fortify Loughrea, and other places, so as to secure good winter quarters in case of any disappointment or delay.

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THE memory of the former siege seems to have made a deep impression on Ginckle. He strengthened his army by withdrawing every garrison that could be spared; he secured the passes of the Shannon; some English ships lay in this river, under the command of captain Cole, to favor his operations; Sir Ralph Delaval cruised off Cape Clear, to intercept the French succours. Some Irish garrisons were reduced which threatened to interrupt the communication between the camp and Kerry; a district reserved for his winter quarters, and in which extraordinary efforts were made to suppress the Irish party. His artillery was brought up under a strong escort, with every possible precaution. The government of Dublin were alarmed at his delays; they dreaded the approach of winter, and the arrival of the French fleet; they urged the general to make some resolute attempt without delay. But the general knew his own strength, the advantages of the enemy, the danger and the fatal consequences of a repulse. He contented himself with ordering
Cole

Cole to burn the country and destroy the forage on the Clare side of the Shannon, the district on which the besieged depended for support.

By this time Ginckle was seated before the town, to which he advanced on the twenty-fifth day of August. His approaches were made in the ^{Story.} same manner as in the former siege. The Irish seemed determined against trying their fortune without the walls; and, after a feeble resistance, abandoned Ireton's, Cromwell's, and some other forts to the besiegers. Every precaution was now taken for the security of their camp; and for several days their cannon and mortars played furiously upon the Irish town, which lay on the same side of the river with the besiegers. The houses were in flames, the inhabitants terrified, and, removing from the danger, formed a sort of camp to the north-east, where they hoped to lie secure from the enemy on the other side of the river. New batteries were raised against the English town. But it seemed of little advantage to the besiegers to set fire to houses abandoned by the inhabitants, and plundered by the soldiers, or to make breaches in the walls which they could not venture to storm, as the garrison was healthy, well supplied, and in numbers equal to their assailants. The only effectual means of reducing the town was to invest it on all parts, by gaining the opposite side of the river, and to cut off the garrison from all intercourse with the county of Clare, by commanding the bridge which opened to this quarter, and was called Thomond-bridge. It was resolved to make a bold effort to gain the other side of the river. To conceal the design, Ginckle gave such orders as indicated a purpose of raising the siege. The Irish saw his batteries dismounted with shouts of joy, and, lulled as they were in perfect security, never once suspected any danger, until a bridge of tin boats was almost completed in the darkness of night. A considerable body of forces was thus conveyed into an island,
from

from which the river was fordable to the main land. Four regiments of Irish dragoons, commanded by an officer of the name of Clifford*, were posted near the passage. Clifford was of the number of those who contended for a timely submission, and not displeased that the garrison should be so pressed as to force them into such a measure. To this it is imputed, that he suffered the English troops to pass gradually over, scarcely with the shew of resistance. The Irish horse, in their encampment, now heard of the enemy's passage with astonishment; the inhabitants, who lay near them, were in confusion; some prepared to seek security in the mountains, others ran for shelter to the town, but were refused admittance. In this uproar and confusion several were killed, and the slaughter must have been greater, had not the English forces been restrained from pursuing by their general, who apprehended an ambuscade.

Story.

NOTWITHSTANDING this success, it was debated whether the siege should be carried on, or converted into a blockade: such were the difficulties foreseen in reducing the town. Though the besiegers had made a lodgment on the other side of the Shannon, though their pontoons were secured by a fort, yet the King's Island, as it was called, which lay northward

* The vulgar malice of the Irish propagated a report, that colonel Henry Luttrell commanded at this post, and treacherously betrayed it to the enemy. This report has been adopted by some precipitate writers of memoirs, and Luttrell was unjustly and fatally pursued by popular odium. He was indeed of the number of those who saw the folly of an obstinate resistance to the present government, and had contrived to notify his own desire of being reconciled to king William. He had by some means offended Tyrconnel, who procured him to be tried by a court martial for holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. But though the court was formed entirely of Tyrconnel's creatures, yet Luttrell was honorably acquitted. He was however, still confined in the castle of Limerick, where he lay at the very time when the English passed the river. See lord West-Meath's letter to W. Harris. Life of K. William. Appendix, No. lxii.

ward of the English town, was still in possession of the enemy; its soil low and marshy, the season far spent, and little hopes of success, unless this important post could be secured. Ginckle, who probably held a secret intelligence with some officers of the garrison, and hoped to prevent the effusion of blood by offers of grace, issued a declaration, promising the garrison and inhabitants of Limerick, who should submit within eight days, pardon for all offences, restitution of their estates, and all other benefits of the proclamation published by the lords justices, from which no act of parliament debarred them, as they were falsely made to believe by those who sacrificed their country to the tyranny and ambition of France. This declaration was not attended by any immediate effects. The counsels of the English general were various and fluctuating; the intelligence of deserters uncertain and contradictory. It was dangerous for the besiegers to continue in their present station on the approach of winter; it was hazardous to divide an army sufficient only for assailing the town on one side. At length, however, it was finally resolved to lead another body of troops across the river. On the twenty-second day of September, Ginckle, Wirtemberg, Sgravenmore, with a powerful party both of cavalry and infantry, marched over the bridge of boats, animated with intelligence of the reduction of Sligo by the earl of Granard. Their advanced guards were at first repulsed, were sustained, repelled the enemy in their turn; the party still advanced, and about the hour of four in the evening, the grenadiers, supported by four regiments, were ordered to assault the works which covered Thomond-bridge. Here the contest was for some time desperately maintained. The grenadiers were transported by their ardour, and pressed forward, even contrary to orders. The Irish, when pushed from their ground, were reinforced, and renewed the engagement: but through the fire of their musquetry, through the tremendous discharge of their

their cannon, the English forced their way undauntedly, and, at length, by the most obstinate efforts of valor, broke, routed, and pursued the enemy. A French major, who commanded at Thomond-bridge, fearing that the grenadiers would enter with his own party, ordered the draw-bridge to be raised, and thus left the fugitives to the mercy of their pursuers. Before the carnage could be stopped, six hundred filled the bridge, even to the battlements, with their carcasses; about an hundred and fifty were forced into the river and perished; one hundred and twenty-six, officers and soldiers, were made prisoners, with an inconsiderable loss on the part of the assailants.

Story.

THE besiegers now made a lodgment within ten yards of the bridge, astonished at their own success, and at a loss to account for the conduct of the enemy, in not hazarding a general engagement when the English forces were divided, rather than suffer the town to be surrounded. But the garrison was by this time weary of the war; the dissensions of their leaders every day encreased; the late behaviour of the French officer at Thomond-bridge, exasperated the whole Irish party; they exclaimed with the utmost virulence against such treacherous allies; they resolved to seek their security in a timely accommodation, before they were reduced to such a state of distress as might cut them off from all hopes of advantageous terms. On the twenty-third day of September, when the garrison had for many hours fired from their batteries with unusual fury, they closed the evening with beating a parley. A cessation was granted, and continued for three days, in order to give time for the horse, (which since the late rencounter had encamped at some distance) to take advantage of the capitulation now projected. An amicable intercourse was thus opened between the two armies; but it exhibited a spectacle neither honorable to the Irish, nor conciliating to the besiegers. About two hundred and
forty

forty English prisoners were led out to be surrendered to their friends. While the inhabitants continued in the town, they had received all charitable relief, particularly from the protestants; but, from the moment of their departure, were abandoned unheeded to disease and famine, and the fire of the besiegers. Thirty of their number had been killed; the survivors tottered feebly on; some fainting on their first exposure to the air; some expiring by the way: some writhing with the torture of wounds never dressed; and all hideous and ghastly. But, however the passions of the soldiers might be enflamed by such an object, Ginckle had urgent directions to terminate the war on any conditions: and, as he sent to the secretary at war on the first parley, for "the king's letter touching lord Lucan," ^{Clarke's} (so Sarsefield was called by both parties) he was ^{Correspondence} probably instructed to practise with this lord, and, ^{MS.} if possible, to entice him to the service of king William.

On the last day of the cessation the Irish leaders ^{ibid.} offered their terms of a capitulation, which was to ^{Story} include the whole body of their party not yet reduced. They required an act of indemnity for all past offences, with a full enjoyment of the estates they possessed before the present revolution; freedom for the Roman catholic worship, with an establishment of one Romish ecclesiastic in each parish. They demanded that Roman catholics should be declared fully qualified for every office, civil and military; that they should be admitted into all corporations; and that the Irish army should be kept up, and paid in the same manner with the king's other troops, provided they be willing to serve. Ginckle replied, that stranger as he was to the laws of England, yet he understood that such demands were equally inconsistent with these laws, and with his own honor. In return for the English prisoners, he ordered those of the Irish to be restored, but not in the same wretched condition, for they had been treated with humanity, and their sick and wounded

wounded carefully attended. He now gave orders for new batteries, as if resolved to continue the siege.

Story.

By a second deputation, he was desired to propose such terms, on his part as he could grant. The season was far advanced, the continuance of the siege dangerous and the event still precarious; he, therefore, made little difficulty to renew the treaty. If the Irish offered terms, not as a conquered people, the general made his propositions as to men who claimed attention and indulgence. He consented that all Irish Roman catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles the Second; and promised, that their majesties would endeavour to procure them farther security in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. He engaged, that all included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, and pursue their callings and professions freely, as in the reign of Charles the Second; that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and that no oath should be required of any except the oath of allegiance. Should it still be disagreeable to any of their party to reside in Ireland on these conditions, or should their army chuse to engage in any foreign service, he consented that all those of every quality who wished to retire with their families and effects, should have free liberty, and be conveyed to the continent at the expence of government.

Such liberal concessions were mortifying to those Irish who had already submitted on less favorable terms. They were detested by those protestants who lived in an habitual hatred and horror of the Irish, enflamed by late transactions; they were provoking to those who studied the extension and security of the English interest, or were impatient to enjoy the estates of their enemies. But they were necessary to the king's immediate views and interests; nor is it just to this prince not to allow something

something to his equity and humanity. He knew the Irish had engaged in the present quarrel not without some plausible and pardonable motives: that they fought for a king of their own religion, by whom they hoped to be restored to those advantages their ancestors had forfeited, or of which they themselves had been deprived in the conflict of parties. The most indifferent and unprincipled among them were necessarily obliged to take some part. Should they oppose the revolution, they were attainted by English government; should they support it, they were at the mercy of the Irish parliament convened by James. In this necessity they were naturally determined to the popish prince, who was for a considerable time acknowledged even by the protestants of Ireland, where the just and generous sentiments of liberty had not been generally imbibed, and where James was present to enforce his authority.

THE garrison, on their part, with a secret pride and satisfaction, accepted the concessions of Ginckle as the ground of a treaty. Sir Theobald Butler, an acute and artful lawyer of the Irish party, was directed to reduce the several points settled in different conferences to a set of formal articles. Some superiors of the popish clergy were in the town, and attended the progress of the treaty. Probably they conferred privately with Butler; and, without any great violation of charity, we may impute it to their zeal for the catholic cause, as well as to the subtlety of their lawyer, that he ventured to insert in his draft many particulars exceeding his instructions. They did not escape the observation of Ginckle; he remonstrated warmly to lord Lucan; and the honor and temper of this lord happily prevented all farther contests. The articles of capitulation were reduced to the original intention and agreements of the parties. On the first day of

Clarke's
Correspondence,
MS.

Story.

Clarke's
Correspondence
MS.

Story.

October the lords justices arrived in the camp*. On the third the capitulation was finally adjusted and signed, the civil articles by the chief governors Porter and Coningsby, the military by the general, not many days before a formidable French fleet arrived in the Shannon, with forces, arms, and provisions for the relief of Limerick.

It is not the intention of this history to enter into any detail of events subsequent to this important transaction. The war was now concluded, the contest for power finally decided in Ireland, and the authority of the crown of England unalterably established.

* We are told that they had already prepared a proclamation, offering terms still more advantageous to the Irish than those granted by the general; but on the first intelligence of a treaty, they suppressed it. Hence it was called the **SECRET PROCLAMATION**, because, though printed, it was never published. See Harris. Writers of Ireland, in the article Cox.

A P P E N D I X.

The CIVIL and MILITARY ARTICLES of LIMERICK,
exactly printed from the Letters Patents; wherein they
are ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, under the
Great Seal of England.

GULIELMUS & Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ,
Franciæ & Hiberniæ, rex & regina, fidei defensores, &c.
Omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem :
inspeximus irrotulament, quarund. literarum patentium de
confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicessimo
quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr.
irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba.
William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to
whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain
articles, bearing date the third day of October last past,
made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of
Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part;
and several officers there, commanding within the city of
Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Where-
by our said justices and general did undertake that we should
ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or
sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should
be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenor of
which said articles is as follows, viz.

ARTICLES

ARTICLES agreed upon the third Day of October, One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety-one.

BETWEEN the Right Honorable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq. Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army; on the one Part,

AND the Right Honorable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown; on the other Part:

IN the Behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

IN Consideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the said City, and Submission of the said Army: it is agreed, That,

I. THE Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. ALL the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorised by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of king Charles II. or at any time since, by the laws and statutes
that

that were in force in the said reign of king Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges; incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. ALL merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. THE following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. THAT all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors

demeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices, and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. AND whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniencies which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. EVERY nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. THE inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. THE oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. THE lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. LASTLY, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. AND whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army; for freeing the said lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron De Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

FOR the true performance hereof, we have hereunto
set our hands,

Present,
SCRAVENMORE,
H. MACCAY.
T. TALMASH.

CHAR. PORTER,
THO. CONINGSBY.
Bar. DE GINCKLE.

AND whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now, know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained,

tained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. "And all such as are under their "protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise, that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the said draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are "under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness our self at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominiæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. {	S. KECK.	} In Cancel.
per nos {	LACON WM. CHILDE.	} Magistros.

MILITARY

MILITARY ARTICLES agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the one side, AND the Lieutenant Generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I. THAT all persons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas, (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate and jewels.

II. THAT all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. THAT all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither: and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. THAT all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. THAT all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free

leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever: and that general Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. THAT if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household-stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered: and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid; and all other persons, belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. THAT to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which, the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail: and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII. THAT a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing: and that, as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the nearest way in order to embark there: and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. THAT the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nants, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X.

X. AND to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. THAT the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, general Ginckle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. THAT all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare, and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. THOSE of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. THE Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis: and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms, to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful
to

to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. THAT all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. THE general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. THAT at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. THAT all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. IF after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port, to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. THAT after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the abovesaid troops; and especially, for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from monsieur Tameron the intendant.

XXIII. IN consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. AND to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town,

town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons: and it shall be prohibited on both sides, to offer any thing that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. THAT it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will chuse, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place: and for this purpose, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. ALL the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France: and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. THAT there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men: and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. THAT for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the

the besieged shall give the following hostages——And the general shall give——.

XXIX. IF before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all those, that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

Octob. 19.

Baron DE GINCKLE.

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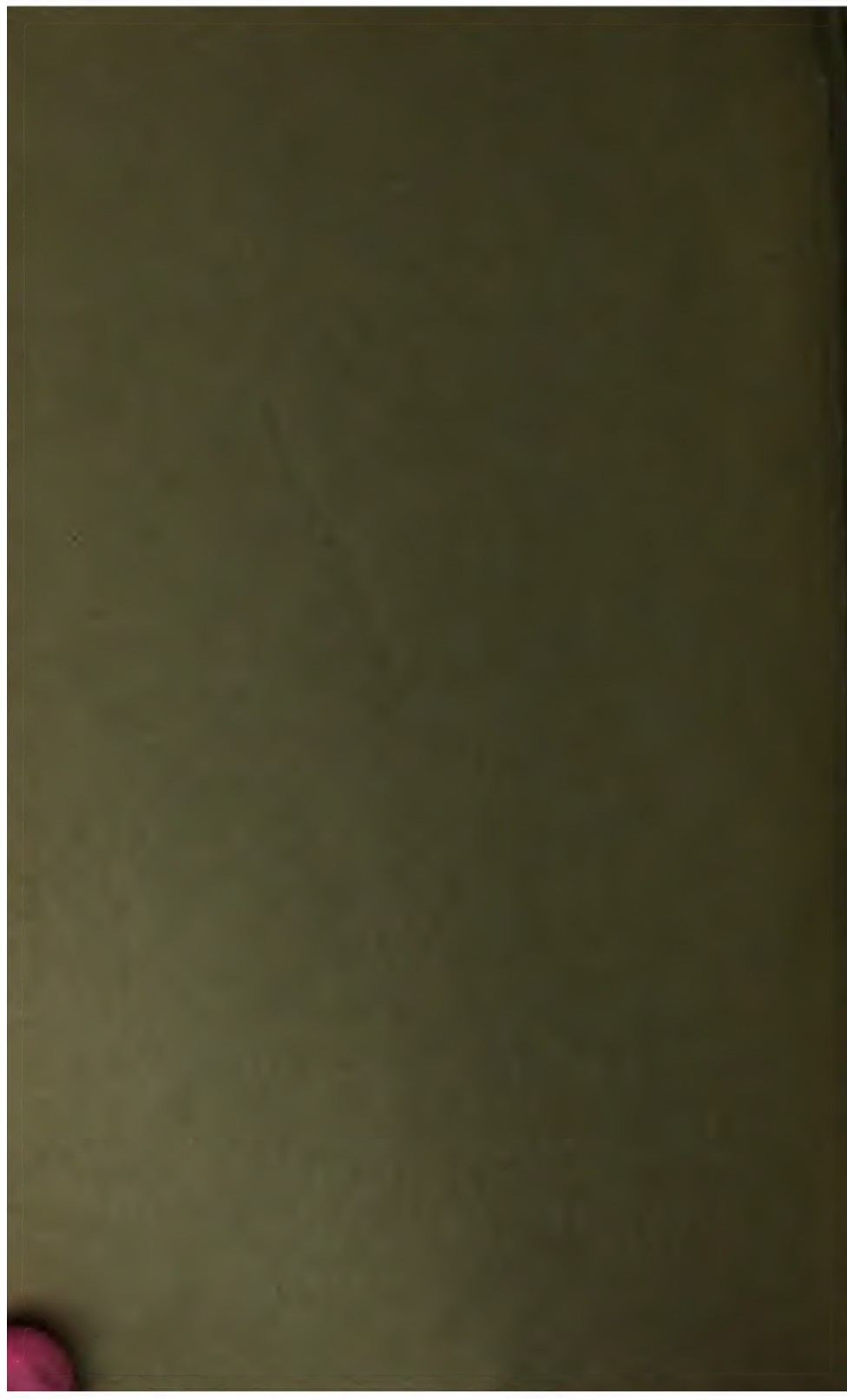
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